

AN
Ecclesiastical History,
ANTIEN T AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY:
IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of CHURCH POWER
ARE CONSIDERED

In their Connexion with the State of LEARNING and PHILOSOPHY,
and the POLITICAL HISTORY of EUROPE during that Period.

By the late learned

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Translated from the ORIGINAL LATIN,
And accompanied with NOTES and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,
By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

To the whole is added AN ACCURATE INDEX.

A NEW EDITION.

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Ecological History

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T H E
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

P A R T I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church
during this century.*

I. **T**HOUGH the successors of GENGIS-KAN, the mighty emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Mogols, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of *Asia*, and having reduced *China*, *India*, and *Persia* under their yoke, involved in many calamities and sufferings the Christian assemblies which were established in these vanquished lands [a]; yet we learn from the best accounts, and the most respectable authorities, that both in *China* and in the Northern parts of *Asia*, the Nestorians continued to have a flourishing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperors of the Tartars and Mogols had no great aversion to the Christian religion; nay, it appears from authentic records, that several kings and grandees of these nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the ministry and exhortations of the Nestorians [b]. But

CENT.
XIII.

PART I.

The state of
Christianity
in the north-
ern parts of
Asia and in
China.

[a] GREGOR. ABULPHARAIUS, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281.

[b] See MARC, PAUL VENETUS, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. lib. ii. c. vi.—HAYTHO the Armenian's *Histor Oriental.* cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41.—JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. part II. p. 526. See particularly the *Ecclesiastical*

CENT. the religion of MAHOMET, which was so adapted to
 XIII. flatter the passions of men, infected, by degrees, these
 PART I. noble converts, opposed with success the progress of the
 gospel, and, in process of time, triumphed over it so far,
 that not the least glimpse, or remains of Christianity,
 were to be perceived in the courts of these eastern
 princes.

A papal em-
 bassy is sent
 to the Tar-
 tars.

II. The Tartars having made an incursion into
Europe in the year 1241, and having laid waste, with the
 most unrelenting and savage barbarity, *Hungary, Poland,*
Silesia, and the adjacent countries, the Roman pontiffs
 thought it incumbent upon them to endeavour to calm the
 fury, and soften the ferocity, of these new and formidable
 enemies. For this purpose, INNOCENT IV. sent an embassy
 to the Tartars, which consisted in a certain number of
 Dominican and Franciscan friars [e]. In the year 1274,
 ABAKA, the emperor of that fierce nation, sent ambas-
 sadors to the council of *Lyons*, which was held under the
 pontificate of GREGORY X [d]. About four years after
 this, pope NICOLAS III. paid the same compliment to
 COBLAI, emperor of the whole Tartar nation, to whom
 he sent a solemn embassy of Franciscan monks, with a
 view to render that prince propitious to the Christian
 cause. The last expedition of this kind that we shall
 mention at present, was that of JOHANNES à MONTE
 CORVINO, who was sent in company with other eccle-
 siastics to the same emperor, by NICOLAS IV, and who
 carried letters to the Nestorians from that zealous pontiff.
 This mission was far from being useless, since these
 spiritual ambassadors converted many of the Tartars to
 Christianity, engaged considerable numbers of the Ne-
 storians to adopt the doctrine and discipline of the church
 of *Rome*, and erected churches in different parts of *Tar-*
tary and *China*. In order to accelerate the propagation
 of the gospel among these darkened nations, JOHANNES à

History of the Tartars, published in Latin at *Helmstadt*, in the year 1741,
 in 4to.

[e] See LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 116. 149. 175.
 256.

[d] WADDING, *loc. cit.* tom. iv. p. 35. tom. v. p. 128. See particu-
 larly an accurate and ample account of the negotiations that passed between
 the pontiffs and the Tartars, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*, already
 mentioned.

MONTE

MONTE CORVINO translated the *New Testament* and the *Psalms* of DAVID into the language of the Tartars [e].

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PART I.

III. The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate state. They had learnt, by a delicious experience, how much these Asiatic wars, undertaken from a principle, or at least carried on under a pretext of religion, had contributed to fill their coffers, augment their authority, and cover them with glory; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than the renewal and prolongation of these sacred expeditions [f]. INNOCENT III, therefore, sounded the charge; but the greatest part of the European princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. At length, however, after many unsuccessful attempts in different countries, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of *Venice*, and set sail for the east with an army that was far from being formidable. Besides; the event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectations of the pontiff. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course towards *Palestine*, sailed directly for *Constantinople*, and, in the year 1203, took that imperial city by storm, with a design to restore to the throne ISAAC ANGELUS, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother ALEXIUS, who had usurped the empire. The year following a dreadful sedition was raised at *Constantinople*, in which the emperor ISAAC was put to death, and his son, the young ALEXIUS, was strangled by ALEXIUS DUCAS, the ringleader of this furious faction [g]. The account of this parricide no sooner came to the ears of the chiefs of

[e] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Ecclesiastic.* tom. xiv. ad A. 1278, § 17. p. 282. & ad A. 1289. § 59. p. 419. edit. Colon — PIERRE BERGERON, *Traité des Tartares*, chap. xi. p. 61. See also the writers mentioned in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*.

[f] This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had so soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the pontiffs, in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 174. 364. et passim.

[g] The learned authors of the *Universal History* call this ring-leader, by mistake, JOHN DUCAS.

C E N T. the crusade, than they made themselves masters of *Constantinople* for the second time, dethroned and drove from the city the tyrant DUCAS, and elected BALDWIN, count of *Flanders*, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a source of new divisions; for about two years after this the Greeks resolved to set up, in opposition to this Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpose THEODORE LASCARIS, who chose *Nice* in *Bithynia* for the place of his imperial residence. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at *Nice*; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at *Constantinople*, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian emperor, MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, who, by the valour and stratagems of his general, CÆSAR ALEXIUS, became master of *Constantinople*, and forced the Latin emperor, BALDWIN II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight in *Italy*. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at *Constantinople*, after a duration of fifty-seven years [b].

Another
crusade un-
dertaken.

IV. Another sacred expedition was undertaken in the year 1217, under the pontificate of HONORIUS III, by the confederate arms of *Italy* and *Germany*. The allied army was commanded in chief by ANDREW, king of *Hungary*, who was joined by LEOPOLD, duke of *Austria*, LEWIS of *Bavaria*, and several other princes. After a few months absence, ANDREW returned into *Europe*. The remaining chiefs carried on the war with vigour, and, in the year 1220, made themselves masters of *Damietta*, the strongest city in *Egypt*; but their prosperity was of a short duration, for the year following their fleet was totally ruined by that of the Saracens, their provisions cut off, and

[b] See, for a full account of this empire, DU FRESNE, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; in the former part of which we find the *Histoire de la Conquête de la Ville de Constantinople par les François*, written by GODFREY DE VILLE HARDUIN, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine history. See also CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216.—GUNTHERI *Monachi Histor. capta à Latinis Constantinopoleos*, in HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 1.—INNOCENTII III, *Epistol. à Baluzio editas*, passim.

their

their army reduced to the greatest straits and difficulties. CENT. XIII. PART I.
 This irreparable loss was followed by that of *Damietta*, which blasted all their hopes, and removed the flattering prospects which their successful beginnings had presented to their expectations [i].

V. The legates and missionaries of the court of *Rome* still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities and disasters had almost totally extinguished. At length, in consequence of their lively remonstrances, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations, and drew the attention of *Europe*, and that so much the more, as it was generally believed, that this army was to be commanded by the emperor FREDERIC II. That prince had, indeed, obliged himself by a solemn promise made to the Roman pontiff, to take upon him the direction of this expedition; and what added a new degree of force to this engagement, and seemed to render the violation of it impossible, was the marriage that FREDERIC had contracted, in the year 1223, with JOLANDA, daughter of JOHN, count of *Brienne*, and king of *Jerusalem*, by which alliance, that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the emperor put off his voyage from time to time under various pretexts, and did not set out until the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay, by the incensed pontiff GREGORY IX [k], he fol-

An historical view of the other crusades, each in their order.

[i] See JAC. DE VITREACO, *Histor. Oriental.* & MARTIN SANCTUS, *Secret. fidel. crucis inter Bangarsianos de sacris bellis scriptores, seu gesta Dei per Francos.*

[k] This papal excommunication, which was drawn up in the most outrageous and indecent language, was so far from exciting FREDERIC to accelerate his departure for *Palestine*, that it produced no effect upon him at all, and was, on the contrary, received with the utmost contempt. He defended himself by his ambassador at *Rome*, and shewed that the reasons of his delay were solid and just, and not mere pretexts, as the pope had pretended. At the same time, he wrote a remarkable letter to HENRY III, king of *England*, in which he complains of the insatiable avarice, the boundless ambition, the perfidious and hypocritical proceedings of the Roman pontiffs. See FLEURY, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, livr. lxxix. tom. xvi. p. 601. edit. *Bruxelles.*

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P A R T I. lowed with a small train of attendants the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in *Palestine*. No sooner did he land in that disputed kingdom, than, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, without consulting the other princes and chiefs of the crusade, concluded in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with MELIC-CAMEL, sultan of *Egypt*. The principal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that FREDERIC should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of *Jerusalem*: this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; and, having thus settled matters in *Palestine*, he returned without delay into *Italy*, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited there in his absence. So that, in reality, notwithstanding all the reproaches that were cast upon the emperor by the pope and his creatures, this expedition was by far the most successful of any that had been yet undertaken against the infidels [1].

VI. The expeditions that followed this were less important and also less successful. In the year 1239, THEOBALD VI [m], count of *Champagne* and king of *Navarre*, set out from *Marseilles* for the Holy Land, accompanied by several French and German princes, as did also, the year following, RICHARD, earl of *Cornwal*, brother to HENRY III, king of *England*. The issue of these two expeditions was by no means answerable to the preparations which were made to render them successful. The former failed through the influence of the emperor's [n] ambassadors in *Palestine*, who renewed the

[1] See the writers that have composed the History of the Holy Wars, and of the Life and Exploits of FREDERIC II. See also MURATORI *Annales Italiae*, and the various authors of the Germanic History.

☞ [m] Dr. MOSHEIM calls him, by a mistake, THEOBALD V, unless we are to attribute this fault to an error of the press.

☞ [n] FREDERIC II, who had still a great party in *Palestine*, and did not act in concert with the clergy and the creatures of his bitter enemy, GREGORY IX, from which division the Christian cause suffered much.

truce with the Mahometans; while, on the other hand, a considerable body of Christians were defeated at *Gaza*, and such as escaped the carnage returned into *Europe*. This fatal event was principally owing to the discords that reigned between the templars and the knights of St. JOHN of *Jerusalem*. Hence it came to pass, that the arrival of RICHARD, which had been industriously retarded by GREGORY IX, and which had revived, in some degree, the hopes of the vanquished, was ineffectual to repair their loss; and all that this prince could do, was to enter, with the consent of the allies, into a truce upon as good conditions as the declining state of their affairs would admit of. This truce was accordingly concluded with the sultan of *Egypt* in the year 1241, after which RICHARD immediately set sail for *Europe* [o].

VII. The affairs of the Christians in the east declined from day to day. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to the last extremity, when LEWIS IX, king of *France*, who was canonised after his death, and is still worshipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their restoration. It was in consequence of a vow, which this prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a painful and dangerous illness, that he undertook this arduous task, and, in the execution of it, he set sail for *Egypt* with a formidable army and a numerous fleet, from a notion that the conquest of this province would enable him to carry on the war in *Syria* and *Palestine* with more facility and success. The first attempts of the zealous monarch were crowned with victory; for *Damietta*, that famous Egyptian city, yielded to his arms; but the smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity and desolation. The united horrors of famine and pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the Mahometans, in the

The expedition of
Lewis IX.

[o] All these circumstances are accurately related and illustrated by the learned GEORGE CHRIST. GEBAVERUS, in his *Historia Richardi Imperatoris*, lib. i. p. 34.—It appears however by the *Epistolæ Petri de Vineis*, that RICHARD was created by FREDERIC II, his lord lieutenant of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and this furnishes a probable reason why GREGORY IX used all possible means to retard RICHARD's voyage.

CENT. year 1150; ROBERT, earl of *Artois*, the king's own
 XIII. brother, having surprised the Saracen army, and, through
 PART I. an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the
 engagement; and, a few days after, the king himself,
 with two more of his brothers [p], and the greatest part
 of his army, were taken prisoners in a bloody action,
 after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant mo-
 narch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind,
 and who was extremely pious, though after the manner
 that prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness,
 was ransomed at an immense price [q], and after having
 spent about four years in *Palestine*, returned into *France*,
 in the year 1254, with a handful of men [r], the mise-
 rable remains of his formidable army.

A second
 crusade un-
 dertaken by
 the same
 monarch.

VIII. No calamities could deject the courage nor
 damp the invincible spirit of LEWIS; nor did he look
 upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in
Palestine. He therefore resolved upon a new expedition,
 fitted out a formidable fleet with which he set sail for
Africa, accompanied by a splendid train of princes and
 nobles, and proposed to begin in that part of the world
 his operations against the infidels, that he might either
 convert them to the Christian faith, or draw from their
 treasures the means of carrying on more effectually the
 war in *Asia*. Immediately after his arrival upon the
African coast, he made himself master of the fort of
Carthage; but this first success was soon followed by a
 fatal change in his affairs. A pestilential disease broke
 out in the fleet, in the harbour of *Tunis*, carried off the
 greatest part of the army, and seized, at length, the
 monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the

[p] ALPHONSUS, earl of *Peitiers*, and CHARLES earl of *Arjou*.

[q] The ransom, which, together with the restoration of *Damietta*,
 the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was eight hundred thousand
 gold bezants, and not eighty thousand as COLLIER erroneously reckons*.
 This sum, which was equal then to 500 000 livres of French money,
 would, in our days, amount to the value of four millions of livres, that is,
 to about 190,000 pounds sterling.

[r] Of 2800 illustrious knights, who set out with LEWIS from *France*,
 there remained but about an hundred when he sailed from *Palestine*. See
 JOINVILLE's *Hist. de S. Louis IX.* p. 81.

* See COLLIER's *Eccles. History*, Cent. XIII. vol. i. p. 456.

25th of August, in the year 1270 [s]. LEWIS was the last of the European princes, that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders, and the enormous expences that accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined apace, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of *Ptolomais*, or *Acra*, by the Mahometans, it was entirely overthrown [t]. It is natural to inquire into the true causes that contributed to this unhappy revolution in *Palestine*; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the counsels or in the valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions that reigned in the Christian armies, in the profligate lives of those, who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legates.

IX. Christianity as yet had not tamed the ferocity, nor conquered the Pagan superstitions and prejudices, that still prevailed in some of the western provinces. Among others, the Prussians, a fierce and savage nation, retained still the idolatrous worship of their ancestors with the most obstinate perseverance; nor did the arguments and exhortations employed by the missionaries that were sent among them, from time to time, produce the least effect upon their stubborn and intractable spirits. The brutish firmness of these Pagans induced CONRAD,

Conversion
of the Prus-
sians.

[s] Among the various histories that deserve to be consulted for an ampler account of this last crusade, the principal place is due to the *Histoire de S. Louis IX du nom, Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sr. de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations Historiques, par Charles du Fresne, Paris 1668, Fol.* See also FILLEAU DE LA CHAIZE, *Histoire de S. Louis, Paris 1688, 2 vol. in 8vo.*—MENCONIS *Chronicon*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analektis veteris ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172. 179.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294, 307, & passim.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris* tom. iii. p. 212. 392, &c.—PIERRE CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xi. p. 337. 405 575.

[t] ANT. MATTHÆI *Analektis veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominici*, tom. i. p. 422.—IMOLA in Dantem, in MURATORII *Antiq. Italicae, medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

duke

CENT.
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PART I.

duke of *Massovia*, to have recourse to more forcible methods than reason and argument, in order to bring about their conversion. For this purpose, he addressed himself, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order of St. MARY, who, after their expulsion from *Palestine*, had settled at *Venice*, and engaged them, by pompous promises, to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The knights accordingly arrived in *Prussia*, under the command of HERMAN DE SALTZA, and, after a most cruel and obstinate war, of fifty years standing, with that resolute people, obliged them, with difficulty, to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the Christian faith [u]. After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in *Prussia*, these booted apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into *Lithuania*, where they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all before them, until they forced the inhabitants of that miserable province to profess a feigned submission to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner so contrary to its divine maxims, and to the benevolent spirit of its celestial author [w].

Of the Ara-
bians in
Spain.

X. In *Spain* the cause of the gospel gained ground from day to day. The kings of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Navarre*, and *Aragon*, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Granada*, and *Murcia*, together with the province of *Andalusia*; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace, and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the church were extended on every side. The princes that contributed principally to this

[u] See MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18 tom. v. p. 684—689—PETRI DE DUISBURG, *Chronicon Prussia*, published by HARTKNOCHIUS at *Jena*, in the year 1679.—CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCHIUS, his *History of the Prussian Church*, written in the German language, book I. ch. i. p. 33. and *Antiquitates Prussia*, Diff. xiv. p. 201—BALUSII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427. 478—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 40. 63.—SOLIGNAC, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 238.

[w] Besides the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see LUDWEGII *Reliquiae Manuscriptorum omnis ævi*, tom. i. p. 336.

happy

happy revolution were FERDINAND, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who, after his death, obtained a place in the ^{XIII.} Kalendar, his father ALPHONSUS IX, king of *Leon*, and ^{PART I.} JAMES I, king of *Arragon* [x]. The latter, more especially, distinguished himself eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; for no sooner had he made himself master of *Valentia* in the year 1236, than he employed, with the greatest pains and assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, whose ministry he made use of principally in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public schools at *Majorca* and *Barcelona*, in which a considerable number of youth were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, the Roman pontiff CLEMENT IV exhorted the king to drive the Mahometans out of *Spain*. The obsequious prince followed the counsel of the inconsiderate pontiff; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition which the Spanish nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other [y].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church during this century.

I. **T**HE accounts we have already given of the conquests of the Tartars, and of the unhappy issue of the crusades, will be sufficient to give us a lively idea of the melancholy condition to which the Christians were reduced in *Asia*; and had the Saracens been infected with the same odious spirit of persecution that possessed the crusaders, there would not perhaps have re-

The unhappy state of the affairs of the Christians in the east.

[x] See JOH. FERRERAS, *History of Spain*, vol. iv.

[y] See GEDDES, his *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i, p. 26.

CENT. maintained a single Christian in that part of the world.
 XIII. But though these infidels were chargeable with various
 PART I. crimes, and had frequently treated the Christians in a
 rigorous and injurious manner, yet they looked with
 horror upon those scenes of persecution, which the Latins
 exhibited as the exploits of heroic piety, and considered
 it as the highest and most atrocious mark of cruelty and
 injustice to force unhappy men, by fire and sword, to
 abandon their religious principles, or to put them to
 death merely because they refused to change their
 opinions. After the destruction of the kingdom of
Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in *Syria*, and
 retiring into the dark and solitary recesses of mount *Liban*,
 lived there in a savage manner, and lost, by degrees, all
 sense both of religion and humanity, as appears in the
 conduct and characters of their descendants, who still in-
 habit the same uncultivated wilds, and who seem almost
 entirely destitute of all knowledge of God and reli-
 gion [z].

Complaints
 of infidelity
 and atheism
 among the
 Latins.

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in many
 places of the growth of infidelity, of daring and licen-
 tious writers, some of whom attacked publicly the doc-
 trines of Christianity, while others went so far as atheisti-
 cally to call in question the perfections and government
 of the Supreme Being. These complaints, however they
 might have been exaggerated in some respects, were yet
 far from being entirely destitute of foundation; and the
 superstition of the times was too naturally adapted to
 create a number of infidels and libertines, among men
 who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than
 solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed their
 attention only upon that absurd system of religion, which
 the Roman pontiffs and their dependents exhibited as the
 true religion of CHRIST, and maintained by the odious
 influence of bloody persecution, were, for want of the

[z] A certain tribe, called DERUSI, or DRUSI, who inhabit the re-
 cesses of the mounts *Liban* and *Antiliban*, pretend to descend from the an-
 cient Franks, who were once masters of *Palestine*. This derivation is, in-
 deed, doubtful. It is however certain, that there still remain in these coun-
 tries descendants of those, whom the Holy war brought from *Europe* into
Palestine; though they do very little honour to their ancestors, and have no-
 thing of Christians but the name,

means

means of being better instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of ARISTOTLE, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philosophy led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the scripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of less moment. These doctrines were not only rejected, but the most pernicious errors were industriously propagated in opposition to them, by a set of Aristotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proselytes to their impious jargon [a].

[a] See St. THOMÆ *Summa contra gentes*, and BERNHARDI MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*. This latter writer, in the work now mentioned, combats, with great spirit, the enemies of Christianity which appeared in his time. In the fourth chapter of the fifth book, p. 416. he disputes, in an ample and copious manner, against those who affirmed, *that the soul perished with the body*; refutes, in the eleventh chapter, p. 477. those Aristotelian philosophers, who held, that the world had existed from all eternity, and would never have an end; and, in the fifteenth chapter, p. 554. he attacks those, who, despising the authority of the sacred writings, deny the existence of *human liberty*, and maintain, that all things, and even the crimes of the wicked, are the effects of an *absolute and irresistible necessity*. Add to these authors, STEPHANI TEMPIERII, *Episcopi Parisiensis*, *Indiculus errorum, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetiæ publice privaeque docebantur*, Anno 1277, in *Bibliotheca patrum Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233. as also BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 433. and GERARDI DU BOIS, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 501. The tenets of these doctors will, no doubt, appear of a surprising nature; for they taught, *that there was only one intellect among all the human race*; *that all things were subject to absolute fate or necessity*; *that the universe was not governed by a divine providence*; *that the world was eternal, and the soul mortal*; and they maintained these and such like monstrous errors by arguments drawn from the philosophy of ARISTOTLE. But, at the same time, to avoid the just resentment of the people, they held up, as a buckler against their adversaries, that most dangerous and pernicious distinction between *theological* and *philosophical truth*, which has been since used, with the utmost cunning and bad faith, by the more recent Aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *These things*, said they

CENT.

XIII.

PART I.

Frederic II.
accused of
impiety.

III. If the accusations brought against FREDERIC II, by the Roman pontiff GREGORY IX, deserve any credit, that prince may be ranked among the most inveterate and malignant enemies of the Christian religion, since he was charged by GREGORY with having said, that *the world had been deceived by three impostors*, MOSES, CHRIST, and MAHOMET [b]. This charge was answered by a solemn and public profession of his faith, which the emperor addressed to all the kings and princes of *Europe*, to whom also had been addressed the accusation brought against him by the pontiff. The accusation, however, was founded upon the testimony of HENRY RASPON, landgrave of *Thuringia*, who declared that he had heard the emperor pronounce the abominable blasphemy above-mentioned [c]. It is, after all, difficult to decide with sufficient evidence concerning the truth of this fact. FREDERIC, who was extremely passionate and imprudent, may, perhaps in a fit of rage, have let some such expression as this escape his reflexion, and this is rendered probable enough by the company he frequented, and the number of learned Aristotelians that were always about his person, and might suggest matter enough for such impious expressions, as that now under consideration. It was this affair that gave occasion, in after-times, to the invention of that fabulous account [d], which supposes the detestable book *Concerning the three impostors*, to have been composed by the emperor himself, or, by PETER DE VINEIS, a native of *Capua*, a man of great credit and authority, whom that prince [e] had chosen for his prime

(as we learn from STEPHEN TEMPIER) are true in philosophy, but not according to the catholic faith. *Vera sunt hæc secundum philosophum, non secundum fidem catholicam.*

[b] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major.* p. 408. 459—PETR. DE VINEIS, *Epistolarum*, lib. i.

[c] HERM. GYGANTIS *Flores temporum*, p. 126.—CHR. FRID. AYRMANN, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639.

[d] See CASIM. OUDINI *Comment. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, tom. iii. p. 66—ALB. HENR. DE SALLENGRE, *Memoirs d'Histoire et de Littérature*, tom. i. part I. p. 386.

[e] The book entitled, *Liber de III Impostoribus, sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book, which had no existence at the time, that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one person. Its supposed existence was pro-

minister,

minister, and in whom he placed the highest confidence.

CENT.
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PART I.

bably owing to an impious saying of SIMON OF TOURNAI, doctor of divinity in the university of Paris in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this: "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by MOSES, the Christians by JESUS, and the Gentiles by MAHOMET." This, or some expressions of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor FREDERIC and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given rise, has been attributed, by different authors, to FREDERIC, to his chancellor PETER DE VINEIS, to ALPHONSO, king of Castile, to BOCCACE, POGGE, the ARETINS, POMPONACE, MACHIAVEL, ERASMUS, OCHINUS, SERVETUS, RABELAIS, GIORDANO BRUNO, CAMPANELLA, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* of GIORDANO BRUNO, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of SPINOZA*, were the ground-work or materials from whence these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the *Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See LA MONNOYE's *Dissertation sur le Livre de III Imposteurs*, published at Amsterdam in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Ménagiana*. See also an *Answer* to this Dissertation, which was impudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of Scheurleer in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late PROSPER MARCHAND's *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii, at the article IMPOSTORIENS.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of learning and philosophy during this century.

C E N T.
XIII.
P A R T I.

The state of
learning
among the
Greeks.

I. **T**HE Greeks, amidst the dreadful calamities, discords, and revolutions, that distracted and perplexed their unhappy country, had neither that spirit, nor that leisure, that are necessary to the culture of the arts and sciences. Yet, under all these disadvantages, they still retained a certain portion of their former spirit, and did not entirely abandon the cause of learning and philosophy, as appears by the writers that arose among them during this century. Their best historians were NICETAS, CHONIATES, GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA, GREGORIUS PACHYMERES, and JOEL, whose *Chronology* is yet extant. We learn from the writings of GREGORY PACHYMERES and NICEPHORUS BLEMIDA, that the Peripatetic philosophy was not without its admirers among the Greeks; though the Platonic was most in vogue. The greatest part of the Grecian philosophers, following the example of the later Platonists, whose works were the subject of their constant meditation, inclined to reduce the wisdom of PLATO and the subtilties of the Stagirite into one system, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not necessary to exhibit a list of those authors, who wrote the lives and discourses of the saints, or distinguished themselves in the controversy with the Latin church, or of those, who employed their learned labours in illustrating the canon law of the Greeks. The principal Syrian writer, which this century produced, was GREGORY ABUL FARAI, primate of the Jacobites, a man of true genius and universal learning, who was a judicious
divine,

divine, an eminent historian, and a good philosopher [a]. C E N T. XIII. PART II. GEORGE ELMACIN, who composed the history of the Saracens, was also a writer of no mean reputation.

II. The sciences carried a fairer aspect in the western world, where every branch of erudition was cultivated with assiduity and zeal, and, of consequence, flourished, with increasing vigour, from day to day. The European kings and princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much the advancement of learning and arts contribute to the grandeur and happiness of a nation; and therefore they invited into their dominions learned men from all parts of the world, nourished the arts in their bosom, excited the youth to the love of letters, by crowning their progress with the most noble rewards, and encouraged every effort of genius, by conferring upon such as excelled, the most honourable distinctions. Among these patrons and protectors of learning the emperor FREDERIC II, and ALPHONSUS X, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, two princes as much distinguished by their own learning, as by the encouragement they granted to men of genius, acquired the highest renown, and rendered

The progress of learning in the west.

[a] See BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article ABULPHARAGE; as also JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

ABULPHARAGIUS, or ABUL-FARAI, was a native of *Malatia*, a city in *Armenia*, near the source of the river *Euphrates*, and acquired a vast reputation in the east on account of his extensive erudition. He composed *An Abridgment of Universal History*, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which he divided into ten parts, or dynasties. The 1st, comprehends the history of the ancient Patriarchs, from *Adam* to *Moses*. The 2^d, that of *Joshua* and the other Judges of *Israel*. The 3^d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, contain the history of the Kings of *Israel*, of the Chaldean Princes, of the Persian Magi, and of the Grecian Monarchs. The 7th, relates to the Roman history; the 8th, to that of the Greek Emperors of *Constantinople*. In the 9th, he treats concerning the Arabian Commanders; and in the 10th, concerning the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in his history of the Saracens and Tartars, than in his accounts of other nations. The learned Dr. EDWARD POCCOCK translated this work into Latin, and published his translation in 1663: together with a Supplement, which carries on the history of the Oriental Princes, where ABUL-FARAI left it. The same learned translator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgment of the ninth dynasty under the following title: *Specimen Historiæ Arabum; sive Georgii Abulfaragii Malatienfis de origine et moribus Arabum succincta narratio.*

CENT. XIII. their names immortal. The former founded the academy of *Naples*, had the works of ARISTOTLE translated into Latin, assembled about his person all the learned men, whom he could engage by his munificence to repair to his court, and gave many other undoubted proofs of his zeal for the advancement of the arts and sciences [b]. The latter obtained an illustrious and permanent renown by several learned productions, but more especially by his famous *Astronomical Tables* [c]. In consequence then of the protection that was given to the sciences in this century, academies were erected almost in every city, peculiar privileges of various kinds were also granted to the youth that frequented them, and these learned societies acquired, at length, the form of political bodies; that is to say, they were invested with a certain jurisdiction, and were governed by their own laws and statutes.

The state of
the Euro-
pean aca-
demies.

III. In the public schools or academies that were founded at *Padua*, *Modena*, *Naples*, *Capua*, *Tholouse*, *Salamancha*, *Lions*, and *Cologn*, the whole circle of the sciences was not taught, as in our times. The application of the youth, and the labours of their instructors, were limited to certain branches of learning, and thus the course of academical education remained imperfect. The academy of *Paris*, which surpassed all the rest both with respect to the number and abilities of its professors, and the multitude of students by whom it was frequented, was the first learned society which extended the sphere of education, received all the sciences into its bosom, and appointed masters for every branch of erudition. Hence it was distinguished, before any other academy, with the title of an UNIVERSITY, to denote its embracing the whole circle of science; and, in process of time, other schools of learning were ambitious of forming themselves upon the same model, and of being honoured with the same title. In this famous university, the doctors were divided into four colleges or classes, according to the branches of learning they professed; and these classes

[b] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 115.—GIANNONE, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 497. Add to these the observations of JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

[c] NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hispan.* lib. viii. c. v. p. 217.—JO. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 347.

were called, in after-times, *faculties*. In each of these C E N T. XIII. PART II. *faculties*, a doctor was chosen by the suffrages of his colleagues, to preside during a fixed period in the society; and the title of *dean* was given to those, who successively filled that eminent office [*d*]. The head of the *university*, whose inspection and jurisdiction extended to all branches of that learned body, was dignified with the name of *chancellor*, and that high and honourable place was filled by the bishop of *Paris*, to whom an assistant was afterwards joined, who shared the administration with him, and was clothed with an extensive authority [*e*]. The college set apart for the study of divinity was first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whose name was ROBERT DE SORBONNE, a particular friend and favourite of St. LEWIS, whose name was adopted, and is still retained, by that theological society [*f*].

IV. Such as were desirous of being admitted professors The academical course in any of the *faculties*, or colleges of this famous university, were obliged to submit to a long and tedious *course* of probation, to suffer the strictest examinations, and to give, during several years, undoubted proofs of their learning and capacity, before they were received in the character of public teachers. This severe discipline was called the *academical course*; and it was wisely designed to prevent the number of professors from multiplying beyond measure, and also to hinder such as were destitute of erudition and abilities from assuming an office, which was justly looked upon as of high importance. They, who had satisfied all the demands of this academical law, and had gone through the formidable trial with applause,

[*d*] This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See Du BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 557. 564.

[*e*] See HERM. CONRINGII *Antiquitates Academicæ*, a work, however, susceptible of considerable improvements. The important work mentioned in the preceding note, and which is divided into six volumes, deserves to be principally consulted in this point, as well as in all others that relate to the history and government of the university of *Paris*; add to this CLAUD. HEMERÆI *Liber de Academia Parisiensi, qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis*, Lutet. 1637, in 4to.

[*f*] See Du BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 223.—Du FRESNE's *Annotations upon the Life of St. LEWIS*, written by JOINVILLE, p. 36.

C E N T. were solemnly invested with the dignity of *professors*, and
 XIII. were saluted *masters* with a certain round of ceremonies,
 PART II. that were used in the societies of illiterate tradesmen,
 when their company was augmented by a new candidate. This vulgar custom was introduced, in the preceding century, by the professors of law in the academy of *Bolonia*, and, in this century, it was transmitted to that of *Paris*, where it was first practised by the divinity-colleges, and afterwards by the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. In this account of the trial and installation of the professors of *Paris*, we may perceive the origin of what we now call *academical degrees*, which, like all other human institutions, have degenerated sadly from the wise ends for which they were at first appointed, and grow more insignificant from day to day [g].

The state of
 literature or
 humanity.

V. These public institutions, consecrated to the advancement of learning, were attended with remarkable success; but that branch of erudition, which we call humanity, or polite literature, derived less advantage from them, than the other sciences. The industrious youth either applied themselves entirely to the study of the civil and canon laws, which was a sure path to preferment, or employed their labours in philosophical researches, in order to the attainment of a shining reputation, and of the applause that was lavished upon such as were endowed with a subtle and metaphysical genius. Hence the bitter complaints, that were made by the pontiffs and other bishops, of the neglect and decline of the liberal arts and sciences; and hence also the zealous, but unsuccessful efforts they used to turn the youth from jurisprudence and philosophy, to the study of humanity and philology [h]. Notwithstanding all this, the thirteenth century produced several writers, who were very

[g] Besides the writers abovementioned, see JO. CHR. ITTERUS, *De Gradibus Academicis*.—JUST. HENN. BOHMERI *Præf. ad jus Canonicum*, p. 14. ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 24.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 256. 682. 684, &c.

[h] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 265. where there is an epistle of INNOCENT III, who seems to take this matter seriously to heart.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 124.—IMOLA in *Dantem in Muratorii Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1262.

far from being contemptible, such as GUIL. BRITO [i],^{CENT. XIII.} GUALTHERUS MAPES [k], MATTHEW of *Vendosme*,^{PART II.} ALAIN DE L'ISLE [l], GUNTHERUS, JACOBUS DE VITRIACO, and several others, who wrote with ease, and were not altogether destitute of elegance. Among the historians the first place is due to MATTHEW PARIS, a writer of the highest merit both in point of knowledge and prudence, to whom we may add RODERICUS XIMENIUS, RIGORDUS [m], VINCENT of *Beauvais*, ROBERT of *St. Marino* [n], MARTINUS, a native of *Poland*, GERVAIS of *Tilbury* [o], CONRAD of *Lichtenau*, GUILIELMUS NANGIUS, whose names are worthy of being preserved from oblivion. The writers, who have laboured to transmit to posterity the lives and exploits of the saints, have rather related the superstitions and miseries of the times, than the actions of these holy men. Among these biographers, JAMES of *Vitri*, mentioned above, makes the greatest figure; he also composed a *History of the Lombards*, that is full of insipid and trifling stories [p].

VI. ROGER BACON [q], JOHN BALBI, and ROBERT CAPITO, with some other learned men, whose number was but inconsiderable, applied themselves to the study of Greek literature. The Hebrew language and theology were much less cultivated; though it appears that BACON and CAPITO already mentioned, and RAYMOND MARTIN, author of an excellent treatise, entitled, *Pugio Fidei Christi-*

The study of
the Greek
and Oriental
languages.

[i] See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 255.

[k] Jo. WOLFII *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430.

[l] Called in Latin, ALANUS DE INSULIS.

[m] See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 243, which also gives an ample account of WILLIAM of Nangis, p. 292.

[n] See LE BOEUF, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 490. where there is also a learned account of Vincent of *Beauvais*, p. 494.

[o] JERVAIS of *Tilbury* was nephew to HENRY II, king of *England*, and was in high credit with the emperor OTHO IV, to whom he dedicated a *Description of the World* and a *Chronicle*, both of which he had himself composed. He wrote also a *History of England*, and one of the *Holy Land*, with several treatises upon different subjects.

[p] See SCHELHORNII *Amoenitates Literariae*, tom. xi. p. 324.

[q] This illustrious Franciscan was, in point of genius and universal learning, one of the greatest ornaments of the British nation, and in general

CENT.
XIII.
PART II.

anæ, or, *The Dagger of the Christian Faith*, were extremely well versed in that species of *erudition*. Many of the Spaniards, and more particularly the Dominican friars, made themselves masters of the Arabian learning and language, as the kings of *Spain* had charged the latter with the instruction and conversion of the Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions [r]. As to the Latin grammarians, the best of them were extremely barbarous and insipid, and equally destitute of taste and knowledge. To be convinced of this, we have only to cast an eye upon the productions of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, who was looked upon as the most eminent of them all, and whose works were read in almost all the schools from this period until the sixteenth century. This pedantic Franciscan composed, in the year 1240, what he called, a *Doctrinale*, in *Leonine* verse, full of the most wretched quibbles, and in which the rules of grammar and criticism are delivered with the greatest confusion and obscurity, or rather, are covered with impenetrable darkness.

The state of
philosophy.

VII. The various systems of philosophy that were in vogue before this century, lost their credit by degrees, and submitted to the triumphant doctrine of ARISTOTLE, which erected a new and despotic empire in the republic of letters, and reduced the whole ideal world under its lordly dominion. Several of the works of this philosopher, and more especially his metaphysical productions, had been so early as the beginning of this century translated into Latin at *Paris*, and were from that time ex-

of the republic of letters. The astonishing discoveries he made in astronomy, chemistry, optics, and mathematics, made him pass for a magician in the ignorant and superstitious times in which he lived, while his profound knowledge in philosophy, theology, and the Greek and Oriental languages, procured him, with more justice, the title of the *admirable*, or *wonderful* *doctor*. Among other discoveries, he is said to have made that of the composition and force of gun-powder, which he describes clearly in one of his letters; and he proposed much the same correction of the *Kalendar*, which was executed about 300 years after by GREGORY XIII. He composed a prodigious number of books, of which the list may be seen in the *General Dictionary*, at the article BACON.

[r] See RICH. SIMON'S *Lettres Choïses*, tom. iii, p. 112.—NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hispanica*.

plained

plained to the youth in the public schools [s]. But when C E N T. it appeared, that ALMERIC [t] had drawn from these XIII. books his erroneous sentiments concerning the divine PART II. nature, they were prohibited and condemned as pernicious and pestilential, by a public decree of the council of Sens, in the year 1209 [u]. The logic of ARISTOTLE, however, recovered its credit some years after this, and was publicly taught in the university of Paris in the year 1215; but the natural philosophy and metaphysic of that great man were still under the sentence of condemnation [w]. It was reserved for the emperor FREDERIC II, to restore the Stagirite to his former glory, which this prince effected by employing a number of learned men, whom he had chosen with the greatest attention and care [x], and who were profoundly versed in

[s] FRANC. PATRICII, *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145. —JO. LAUNOIUS, *de varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Parisensi*, cap. i. p. 127. ed. Elfwich. It is commonly reported, that the books of ARISTOTLE here mentioned, were translated from Arabic into Latin. But we are told positively, that these books were brought from Constantinople, and translated from Greek into Latin. See RIGORDUS, *De gestis Philippi regis Francorum*, ad A. 1209, in ANDR. CHESNII *Scriptor. Hist. Franc.* p. 119.

[t] ALMERIC, or AMAURI, does not seem to have entertained any enormous errors. He held, that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of JESUS CHRIST, and attached, perhaps, some extravagant and fanatical ideas to that opinion; but his followers fell into more pernicious notions, and adopted the most odious tenets, maintaining, that the power of the Father continued no longer than the Mosaic dispensation; that the empire of the Son extended only to the thirteenth century; and that then the reign of the Holy Ghost commenced, when all sacraments and external worship were to be abolished, and the salvation of Christians was to be accomplished merely by internal acts of illuminating grace. Their morals also were as infamous as their doctrine was absurd, and under the name of charity they comprehended and committed the most criminal acts of impurity and licentiousness.

[u] Dr. MOSHEIM has fallen here into two light mistakes. It was at Paris, and not at Sens, and in the year 1210, and not in 1209, that the metaphysical books of ARISTOTLE were condemned to the flames. The writers quoted here by our author are LAUNOIUS, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iv. p. 195. and the same writer's *Syllabus rationum quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. opp. pars I. p. 8.

[w] NAT. ALEXANDER, *Select. Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. viii. cap. iii. § 7. p. 76.

[x] PETR. DE VINEIS, *Epistolar.* lib. iii. ep. lxxvii. p. 503. This epistle is addressed *ad magistros et scholares Bononienses*, i. e. to the masters and

CENT. the knowledge of the languages, to translate into Latin, from the Greek and Arabic, certain books of **ARISTOTLE**, and of other ancient sages. This translation, which was recommended, in a particular manner, to the academy of *Bolonia* by the learned emperor, raised the credit of **ARISTOTLE** to the greatest height, and gave him an irresistible and despotic authority in all the European schools. This authority was still farther augmented by the translations, which were made of some of the books of the Grecian sage by several Latin interpreters, such as **MICHAEL SCOT**, **PHILIP** of *Tripoly*, **WILLIAM FLEMING**, and others; though these men were quite unequal to the task they undertook, and had neither such knowledge of the languages, nor such an acquaintance with philosophy, as were necessary to the successful execution of such a difficult enterprise [y].

Thomas
Aquinas and
others adopt
and main-
tain the
Aristotelian
system.

VIII. The Aristotelian philosophy received the very last addition that could be made to its authority and lustre, when the Dominican and Franciscan friars adopted its tenets, taught it in their schools, and illustrated it in their writings. These two mendicant orders were looked upon as the chief depositaries of all learning both human and divine; and were followed, with the utmost eagerness and assiduity, by all such as were ambitious of being distinguished from the multitude by their superior knowledge. **ALEXANDER HALES**, an English Franciscan, who taught philosophy at *Paris*, and acquired, by the strength of his metaphysical genius, the

scholars of the academy of Bolonia; but it is more than probable, that the emperor sent letters, upon this occasion, to the other European schools. It is a common opinion, that this learned prince had all the works of **ARISTOTLE**, that were then extant, translated into Latin about the year 1020, but this cannot be deduced from the letter abovementioned, nor from any other sufficient testimony that we know of.

[y] See **WOOD**'s account of the interpreters of **ARISTOTLE**, in his *Antiquitat. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 119. as also **JEEB**'s *Præface* to the *Opus Majus* of the famous **ROGER BACON**, published at *London* in folio, in the year 1733. We shall give here the opinion, which **BACON** had of the translators of **ARISTOTLE**, in the words of that great man, who expresses his contempt of these wretched interpreters in the following manner: *Si haberem (says he) potestatem supra libros Aristotelis Latine conversos, ego facerem omnes cremari, quia non est nisi temporis amissio studere in illis, et causa erroris et multiplicatio ignorantie, ultra id quod valeat explicari.*

title

title of the *IRREFRAGABLE Doctor* [x], and ALBERT the C E N T. XIII. Great, a German, of the Dominican order, and bishop of *Ratisbon*, a man of vast abilities and a universal dictator PART II. at this time [a], were the two first eminent writers who illustrated, in their learned productions, the Aristotelian system. But it was the disciple of ALBERT, THOMAS AQUINAS, the *Angelic Doctor*, and the great luminary of the scholastic world, that contributed most to the glory of the Stagirite [b], by inculcating, illustrating, and enforcing his doctrines, both in his lectures and in his writings; and principally, by engaging one of his learned colleagues to give, under his inspection, a new translation of the works of the Grecian sage, which far surpassed the former version in exactness, perspicuity, and elegance [c]. By these means the philosophy of ARISTOTLE, notwithstanding the opposition of several divines, and even of the Roman pontiffs themselves, who beheld its progress with an unfriendly eye, triumphed in all the Latin schools, and absorbed all the other systems that had flourished before this literary revolution.

IX. There were, however, at this time in *Europe* several persons of superior genius and penetration, who, notwithstanding their veneration for ARISTOTLE, thought the method of treating philosophy, which his writings

The limits of science are extended by several eminent men.

[x] See LUCÆ WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 200. 673.

[a] JO. ALB. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Latina medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 113:

[b] The Dominicans maintain, that this *Angelic Doctor* was the disciple of ALBERT the Great, and their opinion seems to be founded in truth. See ANTOINE TOURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 99. The Franciscans however maintain as obstinately, that ALEXANDER HALES was the master of THOMAS. See WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133.

[c] It has been believed by many, that WILLIAM DE MOERBEEK, a native of *Flanders*, of the Dominican order, and archbishop of *Corinth*, was the author of the new Latin translation of the Works of ARISTOTLE, which was carried on and finished under the auspicious inspection of THOMAS AQUINAS. See J. ECHARD, *Scriptores Dominican*. tom. i. p. 338.—CASIM. OUDINUS, *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468. JO. FRANC. FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. Others however suppose, though indeed with less evidence, that this translation was composed by HENRY KOSBEIN, who was also a Dominican. See ECHARD, *Script. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 469.

had

C E N T. had introduced, dry, inelegant, and proper to confine
 XIII. and damp the efforts of the mind in the pursuit of truth,
 PART II. and who, consequently, were desirous of enlarging the
 sphere of science by new researches and new discoveries [d]. At the head of these noble adventurers we may justly place ROGER BACON, a Franciscan friar, of the English nation, known by the appellation of the *admirable doctor*, renowned on account of his most important discoveries, and who, in the progress he had made in natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, soared far beyond the genius of the times [e]. With him we may associate ARNOLD of *Villa Nova*, whose place of nativity is fixed by some in *France*, by others in *Spain*, and who acquired a shining reputation by his knowledge in chemistry, poetry, philosophy, languages, and physic [f]; as also

[d] BACON's contempt of the learning that was in vogue in his time may be seen in the following passage quoted by JEBB, in his *Preface* to the *Opus Majus* of that great man: *Nunquam, says he, fuit tanta apparentia sapientiæ, nec tantum exercitium studii in tot facultatibus, in tot regionibus, sicut jam a quadraginta annis; ubique enim doctores sunt dispersi . . . in omni civitate, et in omni castro, et in omni burgo, præcipue per duos ordines studentes* (he means the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were almost the only religious orders that distinguished themselves by an application to study) *quod non accidit, nisi a quadraginta annis aut circiter, cum tamen nunquam fuit TANTA IGNORANTIA, TANTUS ERROR . . . Vulgus studentium languet et asinuat circa male translata* (by these wretched versions he understands the works of ARISTOTLE, which were most miserably translated by ignorant bunglers) *et tempus et studium amittit in omnibus et expensas. Apparentia quidem sola tenet eos, et non curant quid sciant, sed quid videantur scire coram multitudine infensata.* Thus, according to BACON, in the midst of the most specious appearance of science, the greatest ignorance and the grossest errors reigned almost universally.

[e] That BACON deserves this high rank in the learned world appears evidently from his book, entitled *Opus Majus*, which was dedicated to the Roman pontiff, CLEMENS IV, and which doctor JEBB published at *London* in 1733, from a manuscript which still exists in the university of *Dublin*, enriching it with a learned Preface and a considerable number of judicious observations. The other works of BACON, which are very numerous, lie as yet for the most part concealed in the libraries of the curious. For a farther account of this eminent man, see WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136. —WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 264. tom. v. p. 51.—THOM. GALE *ad Jamblicum de Mysteriis Ægyptior.* p. 235. *General Hist. and Crit. Dictionary*, at the article BACON.

[f] See NIC. ANTONII *Biblioth. vetus Hispan.* tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i.

PETRUS

PETRUS DE ABANO, a physician of *Padua*, who was furnamed the *Reconciler*, from a book he wrote with a design to terminate the dissentions and contests that reigned among the philosophers and physicians [g], and who was profoundly versed in the sciences of philosophy, astronomy, physic, and mathematics [b]. It must, however, be observed, to the eternal dishonour of the age, that the only fruits which these great men enjoyed of their learned labours, and their noble, as well as successful, efforts for the advancement of the arts and sciences, were the furious clamours of an enraged and superstitious multitude, who looked upon them as heretics and magicians, and thirsted so eagerly after their blood, that they escaped with difficulty the hands of the public executioner. BACON was confined many years to a loathsome prison; and the other two were, after their death, brought before the tribunal of the inquisition, and declared worthy of being committed to the flames for the novelties they had introduced into the republic of letters.

X. The state of theology, and the method of teaching and representing the doctrines of Christianity that now prevailed, shall be mentioned in their place. The civil and canon laws held the first rank in the circle of the sciences, and were studied with a peculiar zeal and application by almost all who were ambitious of literary glory. These sciences, however, notwithstanding the assiduity with which they were cultivated, were far from being, as yet, brought to any tolerable degree of perfection. They were disfigured by the jargon that reigned in the schools, and they were corrupted and rendered intricate by a multitude of trivial commentaries that were designed to illustrate and explain them. Some em-

p. 74.—PIERRE JOSEPH, *Vie d' Arnaud de Ville neuve*, Aix, 1719.—NICERON, *Memoires des hommes illustres*, tom. xxxiv. p. 82.—NICOL. EYMERICI *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 282. where, among other things, we have an account of his errors.

[g] This book was entitled, *Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum*.

[b] There is a very accurate account of this philosopher given by JON. MARIA MAZZUCHELLI *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d' Abano*, in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Opusculi Scientifici et Philologici*, tom. xxiii. p. i.—liv.

ployed

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ployed their labours in collecting the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which are commonly known under the title of *Decretals* [i], and which were looked upon as a very important branch of ecclesiastical law. RAIMOND of Pennafort, a native of *Barcelona*, was the most famous of all these compilers, and acquired a considerable reputation by his collection of the *Decretals* in five books, which he undertook at the desire of GREGORY IX, and which has been since honoured with the name of that pontiff, who ordered it to be added to the *Decretals* of GRATIAN, and to be read in all the European colleges [k]. Towards the conclusion of this century, BONIFACE VIII had a new collection made, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of Decretals*, because it was added to the five already mentioned.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the Church, and its form of government, during this century.

The corruption of the clergy;

I. BOTH the Greek and Latin writers, provoked, beyond measure, by the flagitious lives of their spiritual rulers and instructors, complain loudly of their licentious manners, and load them with the severest reproaches; nor will these complaints and reproaches appear excessive to such as are acquainted with the history of this corrupt and superstitious age [l]. Several eminent men attempted to stem this torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads of the church had carried its pernicious streams through all the members; but their

[i] See BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 98.

[k] GERH. A MASTRICHT, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, § 353. p. 384. — JO. CHIFLET, *De juris utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60. — ECHARD et QUETIF, *Scriptores Dominici*, tom. i. p. 106. — *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* tom. i. *Januarii ad d. vii.* p. 404.

[l] See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontiff, GREGORY IX. to the archbishop of *Bourges*, which was written in the year 1227, with a design to reprove and reform the vices which had infested all the various orders of the clergy, and which is published by DION. SAMMARTHANUS, in his *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. in *Append.* p. 21. — See also DU FRESNE, *Adnotat.* in *Vitam Ludovici Sti.* p. 99.

power

power and influence were unequal to such a difficult and arduous enterprize. The Grecian emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the infelicity of the times, and the various calamities and tumults, that not only reigned in their dominions, but even shook the throne on which they sat; while the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs and the superstition of the age hindered the Latins from accomplishing, or even attempting, a reformation in the church.

II. The history of the popes presents a lively and horrible picture of the complicated crimes that dishonoured the ministers of the church, who were peculiarly obliged, by their sacred office, to exhibit to the world distinguished models of piety and virtue. Such of the Sacerdotal order, as were advanced to places of authority in the church, behaved rather like tyrants than rulers, and shewed manifestly, in all their conduct, that they aimed at an absolute and unlimited dominion. The popes, more especially, inculcated that pernicious maxim, "That the bishop of *Rome* is the supreme lord of the universe, and that neither princes nor bishops, civil governors, nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power in church or state but what they derive from him." This extravagant maxim, which was considered as the sum and substance of papal jurisprudence, the Roman pontiffs maintained obstinately, and left no means unemployed, that perfidy or violence could suggest, to give it the force of a universal law. It was in consequence of this arrogant pretension, that they not only claimed the right of disposing of ecclesiastical *benefices*, as they are commonly called, but also of conferring civil dominion, and of dethroning kings and emperors, according to their good pleasure. It is true, this maxim was far from being universally adopted; many placed the authority of councils above that of the pontiffs, and such of the European kings and princes as were not ingloriously blinded, and enslaved by the superstition of the times, asserted their rights with dignity and success, excluded the pontiffs from all concern in their civil transactions, nay, even reserved to themselves the supremacy over the churches that were established in their dominions.

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And of the
Roman
pontiffs.

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The power
of creating
bishops, ab-
bots, &c.
claimed by
the pontiffs.

dominions [m]. In opposing thus the haughty pretensions of the lordly pontiffs, it was, indeed, necessary to proceed with mildness, caution, and prudence, on account of the influence which these spiritual tyrants had usurped over the minds of the people, and the power they had of alarming princes, by exciting their subjects to rebellion.

III. In order to establish their authority, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, upon the firmest foundations, the Roman pontiffs, assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the various offices of the church, whether of a higher or more subordinate nature, and of creating *bishops, abbots, and canons*, according to their fancy. Thus we see the ghostly heads of the church, who formerly disputed with such ardor against the emperors in favour of the free election of bishops and abbots, overturning now all the laws that related to the election of these spiritual rulers, reserving for themselves the revenues of the richest benefices, conferring vacant places upon their clients and their creatures, nay, often deposing bishops that had been duly and lawfully elected, and substituting, with a high hand, others in their room [n]. The hypocritical pretexts for all these arbitrary proceedings were an ardent zeal for the welfare of the church, and an anxious concern, lest devouring *heretics* should get a footing among the flock of CHRIST [o]. The first of the pontiffs, who usurped such an extravagant extent of authority, was INNOCENT III, whose example was followed by HONORIUS III, GREGORY IX, and several of their successors. But it was keenly opposed by the bishops,

[m] As a specimen of this, the reader may peruse the letters of INNOCENT III, and the emperor OTHO IV, which have been collected by the learned GEORGE CHRIST. GEBAUER, in his *History of the Emperor RICHARD*, written in German, p. 611—614. Other princes, and more especially the kings of *England and France*, displayed, in the defence of their rights and privileges, the same zeal that animated OTHO.

[n] Many examples of this may be taken from the history of this century. See STEPH. BALUZI *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 443. 466. 470. 488. 491. 493.—*Galila Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. Append.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor. in Diplom.*—WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201. 202.

[o] See the *Epistle of INNOCENT IV*, in BALUZ. *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 463.

who

who had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of nominating to the smaller benefices, and, still more effectually by the kings of *England* and *France*, who employed the force of warm remonstrances and vigorous edicts to stop the progress of this new jurisprudence [p]. LEWIS IX, king of *France*, and now the tutelar saint of that nation, distinguished himself by the noble opposition he made to these papal encroachments. In the year 1268, before he set out for the Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican church against the insidious attempts of the Roman pontiffs, by that famous edict known in *France* by the name of the *pragmatic sanction* [q]. This resolute and prudent measure rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the prosecution of their purpose. For BONIFACE VIII maintained, in the most express and impudent terms, that the universal church was under the dominion of the pontiffs, and that princes and lay-patrons, councils and chapters, had no more power in spiritual things, than what they derived from CHRIST's vicar upon earth.

IV. The legates, whom the pontiffs sent into the provinces, to represent their persons, and execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and insolence of their masters. They violated the privileges of the chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important ecclesiastical benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes, or such like considerations [r]; extorted money from the people by the vilest and most iniquitous means; seduced the unwary by forged letters and other stratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were, themselves, the ring-leaders of the most furious and rebellious factions; carried on, in the most scandalous manner, the impious traffick of *relics* and *indulgencies*, and distinguished themselves by several acts of profligacy still more heinous than the practices now mentioned. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimously of the flagitious conduct and the enormous crimes of the pope's legates.

[p] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659. and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

[q] *Idem*, ib. p. 389.

[r] See BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. 480, &c.

CENT. XIII. PART II. gates [s]. Nay, we see the Roman pontiff ALEXANDER IV, enacting, in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers [t], which, however, they easily evaded, by their friends and their credit at the court of *Rome*.

The wealth and revenues of the pontiff augmented.

V. From the ixth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the pontiffs had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were vastly increased under INNOCENT III and NICOLAS III, partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. INNOCENT was no sooner seated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the prefect of *Rome*, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized upon *Ancona*, *Spoletto*, *Affisi*, and several cities and fortresses which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. PETER [u]. On the other hand, FREDERIC II, who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with OTHO IV, loaded the Roman see with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the pope's brother [w], but also permitted RICHARD count of *Fundi* to leave, by will, all his possessions to the Roman see [x], and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent MATILDA. Such was the progress that INNOCENT III made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendor and wealth of the church. NICOLAS IV followed his example with the warmest

[s] See that judicious and excellent writer MATTH. PARIS, in his *Historia Major*, p. 313. 316. 549. and particularly p. 637. where we find the following remarkable words: *Semper solent legati quales, et omnes nuncii papales regna quæ ingrediuntur depauperare, vel aliquo modo perturbare*. See also BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 659.

[t] This edict is published by LAMI, in his *Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. ii. p. 300.

[u] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. iii. p. 161.—MURATORII *Antiq. Italica*, tom. i. p. 328.

[w] This brother of the pontiff was called RICHARD. See for an account of this transaction, MURATORI's *Antiquitat. Italica*, tom. v. p. 652.

[x] ODO. RAYNALDUS, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad. A. 1212*, § ii.

emulation,

emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the emperor RODOLPHUS I, before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman see, of which, if some were plausible, the greatest part were altogether groundless, or, at least, extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes, that were subject to the emperor, were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than NICOLAS reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in *Italy*, that had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly *Romania* and *Bologna*. It was therefore under these two pontiffs, that the see of *Rome* arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times [y].

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VI. INNOCENT III, who remained at the head of the church until the year 1216, followed the steps of GREGORY VII, and not only usurped the despotic government of the church, but also claimed the empire of the world, and thought of nothing less than subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to his lordly scepter. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance [z] clouded the lustre of any good qualities, which his panegyriste have thought proper to attribute to him. In *Asia* and *Europe*, he disposed of crowns and scepters with the most wanton ambition. In *Asia*, he gave a king to the Armenians: in *Europe*, he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon PRIMISLAUS, duke of *Bohemia* [a]. The same year he sent to JOHANNICIUS, duke of *Bulgaria* and *Walachia*, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned PETER II of *Arragon*, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the church, and saluted him publicly at *Rome* with the title of

The tyrannic pontificate of Innocent III, proved by several examples.

[y] See RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit. ad A. 1278*, § 47.

[z] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 206. 230.

[a] Other historians affirm, that it was the emperor PHILIP that conferred the royal dignity upon PRIMISLAUS, in order to strengthen his party against OTHO.

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King [b]. We omit many other examples of this frenetic pretension to universal empire, which might be produced from the *letters* of this arrogant pontiff, and many other acts of despotism, which *Europe* beheld with astonishment, but also, to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive obedience.

VII. The ambition of this pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty of the Roman see formidable to the greatest European monarchs, and even to the emperors themselves. When the empire of *Germany* was disputed, towards the commencement of this century, between PHILIP, duke of *Swabia*, and OTHO IV, third son of HENRY LION, he espoused, at first, the cause of OTHO, thundered out his excommunications against PHILIP, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as OTHO was, by no means, disposed to submit to this pontiff's nod, or to satisfy to the full his ambitious desires, he incurred, of consequence, his lordly indignation; and INNOCENT, declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised in his place FREDERIC II, his pupil, the son of HENRY VI, and king of the two *Sicilies*, to the imperial throne in the year 1212 [c]. The same pontiff excommunicated PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, for having dissolved his marriage with INGERBURG, a princess of *Denmark*, and espoused another in her place; nor did he cease to pursue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged him to receive the divorced queen, and to restore her to her lost dignity [d].

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so dishonourable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent pontiff as JOHN, surnamed *Sans terre*, king of *England*. This prince opposed vigorously the measures

[b] MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. mediævi*, tom. vi. p. 116.—JO. DE FERRERA, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 8.

[c] All this is amply illustrated in the *Origines Guelficæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247.

[d] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 8.—DANIEL, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475.—GERHARD. DU BOIS, *Hist. Eccles. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 204—257.

of INNOCENT, who had ordered the monks of *Canterbury* C E N T, to chuse STEPHEN LANGTON, a Roman cardinal of ^{XIII.} English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding ^{PART II.} the election of JOHN DE GREY to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority [e]. The pope, after having consecrated LANGTON at *Viterbo*, wrote a soothing letter in his favour, to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of *Canterbury*, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive LANGTON as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff, that, if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of *Canterbury*, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the papal authority in *England*. INNOCENT was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that, in the year 1208, he sent orders to the bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, and *Ely*, to lay the kingdom under an *interdict*, in case the monarch refused to yield and to receive LANGTON. JOHN, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at *Rome*; but, in the act that was drawn up for this purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the *interdict* was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended except that of baptism;

☞ [e] Dr. MOSHEIM passes lightly over this rupture between king JOHN and INNOCENT III, mentioning in a few lines the *interdict* under which *England* was laid by that pontiff, the excommunication he issued out against the king's person, and the impious act by which he absolved the English from their allegiance. The translator, however, thought this event of too great importance to be treated with such brevity, and has, therefore, taken the liberty to enlarge considerably this eighth section, which contains but eleven lines in the original.

C E N T. the dead were buried in the highways without the usual
 XIII. rites or any funeral solemnity. But, notwithstanding this
 PART II. interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine
 service, and several learned and respectable divines,
 among which were the bishops of *Winchester* and *Nor-*
wich, protested against the injustice of the pope's pro-
 ceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that INNOCENT carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed JOHN, declared the throne of *England* vacant, and wrote to PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of *England*, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded PHILIP in this grand enterprize the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in *Palestine*. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of *England*. The king of *England*, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when PANDULF, the pope's legate, arrived at *Dover*, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of PHILIP on the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman see.

JOHN,

JOHN, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to INNOCENT, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of *Rome*, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory [*f*]. In the act by which he resigned, thus scandalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force, but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice, and with the consent of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for *England*, and three hundred for *Ireland*, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission, now stipulated, to the see of *Rome*, should forfeit all their right to the British crown [*g*]. "This shameful ceremony was performed, says a modern historian [*h*], on Ascension day, in the house of the Templars at *Dover*, in the midst of a great concourse of people, who beheld it with confusion and indignation. JOHN, in doing homage to the pope, presented a sum of money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet, as a mark of the king's dependence. Every spectator glowed with resentment, and the archbishop of *Dublin* exclaimed aloud against such intolerable insolence. PANDULF, not satisfied with this mortifying act of superiority, kept the crown and scepter five whole days, and then restored them as a special favour of the Roman see. JOHN was despised before this extraordinary resignation; but now he was looked upon as a contemptible wretch, unworthy to sit upon a

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[*f*] For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major*, p. 189. 192. 195.—As also BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 67.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

[*g*] *Cadet a jure regni*, is the expression used in the *Charter of resignation*, which may be seen at length in the *Hist. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS.

[*h*] See the *Complete History of England*, by Dr. SMOLLET, vol. i. p. 437.

CENT. " throne: while he himself seemed altogether insensible
XIII. " of his disgrace."

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Honorius
III.

IX. INNOCENT III was succeeded in the pontificate by CONCIO SAVELLI, who assumed the title of HONORIUS III, ruled the church above ten years, and whose government, though not signalized by such audacious exploits as those of his predecessor, discovered, nevertheless, an ardent zeal for maintaining the pretensions, and supporting the despotism, of the Roman see. It was in consequence of this zeal, that the new pontiff opposed the measures, and drew upon him the indignation of FREDERIC II, that magnanimous prince, on whose head he himself had placed, in the year 1220, the imperial crown. This spirited prince, following the steps of his illustrious grandfather, had formed the resolution of confirming the authority and extending the jurisdiction of the emperors in *Italy*, of depressing the small states of *Lombardy*, and reducing to narrower limits the immense credit and opulence of the pontiffs and bishops; and it was with a view to the execution of these grand projects, that he deferred the fulfilling of the solemn vow, by which he had engaged himself to march a formidable army against the infidels in *Palestine*. The pontiff, on the other hand, urged, with importunity, the emperor's departure, encouraged, animated, and strengthened, by secret succours, the *Italian* states that opposed his pretensions, and resisted the progress of his power by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention could suggest. These contests, however, had not, as yet, brought on an open rupture.

The calamities that arose from the ambition of Gregory IX.

X. In the year 1227, HUGOLINUS, bishop of *Ostia*, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, nor diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, assumed the title of GREGORY IX, and kindled the feuds and dissensions, that had already secretly subsisted between the church and the empire, into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for putting off his expedition against the Saracens another year, though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that prince when he was ready

ready to embark for *Palestine*. In the year 1228, FRE-CENT. DERIC at last set out and arrived in the Holy Land; XIII. PART II. but instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as we have had already occasion to observe, he entered into a truce with SALADIN, and contented himself with the recovery of *Jerusalem*. The pretended vicar of CHRIST, forgetting (or rather unwilling to persuade himself) that his master's *kingdom was not of this world*, made war upon the emperor in *Apuglia* during his absence [i], and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. FREDERIC, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into *Europe* in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in *Sicily* and in *Italy*, and the year following made his peace with the pontiff from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper of GREGORY. He therefore broke all measures with that headstrong pontiff, distressed the states of *Lombardy* that were in alliance with the see of *Rome*, seized upon the island of *Sardinia*, which GREGORY looked upon as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son ENTIUS. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of GREGORY, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the emperor's head in the year 1239. FREDERIC was excommunicated publicly with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this terrible accusation to all the courts of *Europe*. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest straits. To get rid of these difficulties, the latter convened, in the year 1240,

☞ [i] Under the feeble reign of HENRY III, the pope drew immense sums out of *England* for the support of this impious war, and carried his audacious avarice so far, as to demand the fifth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the whole kingdom.

CENT.
XIII.
PART II.

a general council at *Rome*, with a view to depose FREDERIC by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, that were to compose that assembly. But the emperor disconcerted that audacious project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event [k].

Innocent
IV.

XI. GEOFFRY, bishop of *Milan*, who succeeded GREGORY IX, under the title of CELESTINE IV, died before his consecration, and after a vacancy of twenty months, the apostolic stool was filled by SINIBALD, one of the counts of *Fiesque*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243, assumed the denomination of INNOCENT IV, and yielded to none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury [l]. His elevation, however, offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor, and accordingly the conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor [m]. Hence it was that INNOCENT, not thinking himself safe in any part of *Italy*,

[k] Besides the original and authentic authors collected by MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the German and Italian historians, few or none of whom are absolutely void of partiality in their accounts of these unhappy contests between the empire and the papacy, see PETRUS DE VINIIS, *Epistol. lib. i.* and MATTH. PARIS, *Historia Major*. Add to these RAYNALDI *Annal.*—MURATORI *Annal. Italiae*, tom. vii. & *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. iv. p. 325. 517. It must however be observed, that this branch of history stands yet in need of farther illustrations.

[l] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major*, ad A. 1254, p. 771.

[m] These preliminary conditions were: 1st, That the emperor should give up entirely to the church the inheritance which was left to it by MATHILDA; and 2^{dly}. That he would oblige himself to submit to whatever terms the pope should think fit to propose, as conditions of peace.

set

set out from *Genoa*, the place of his birth, for *Lyons* in the year 1244, and, assembling there a council the following year, deposed, in their presence, though not with their approbation, the emperor FREDERIC, and declared the imperial throne vacant [n]. This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, seduced and blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, HENRY, landgrave of *Thuringia*, and after his death, WILLIAM count of *Holland*, to the head of the empire. FREDERIC, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in *Italy*, until a violent dysentery ended his days in *Apulia*, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, INNOCENT returned into *Italy* [o], hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called *Guelphs* and *Ghibelines*, of which the latter espoused the cause of the emperors, and the former that of the pontiffs, involved all the Italian states in the most fatal dissensions, though their origin is much earlier than this century [p].

XII. RAYNALD, count of *Segni*, and bishop of *Ostia*, was raised to the pontificate after the death of INNOCENT, in the year 1254, and is distinguished in the list of the popes by the name of ALEXANDER IV. During the six years and six months that he governed the see of *Rome*, his time was less employed in civil affairs, than in regulating the internal state of the church, if we except the measures he took for the destruction of CONRADIN, grandson of FREDERIC II, and for composing the tumults that had so long reigned without interruption in *Italy*. The mendicant friars, in particular, and among

[n] This assembly is placed in the list of *œcumenical*, or general councils; but it is not acknowledged as such by the Gallican church.

[o] Besides the writers already mentioned, see NICOL. DE CURBIO, *Vita Innocentii IV.*, in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

[p] See MURATORII *Dissertat. de Guelphis et Guibellinis*, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

them

CENT. them the Dominicans and Franciscans, were much favoured by this pontiff, and received several marks of his peculiar bounty.

XIII.
PART II.

He was succeeded in the Roman see, A. D. 1261, by URBAN IV, a native of *Troyes*, of obscure birth, who, before his elevation to the pontificate, was patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and after that period was more distinguished by his instituting the *Festival of the body of Christ*, than by any other circumstance in the course of his reign. He had, indeed, formed several important projects, but their execution was prevented by his death, which happened, in the year 1264, after a short reign of three years. His successor GUI FULCIDI, or CLEMENS IV, a native of *France*, and bishop of *Sabino*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in the year 1265, did not enjoy much longer that high dignity. His name, however, makes a greater figure in history, and was rendered famous in many respects, and more especially by his conferring the kingdom of *Naples* upon CHARLES of *Anjou*, brother to LEWIS IX king of *France*. The consequences of this donation are well known, and the fate of CONRADIN, the last descendant of FREDERIC II, who, after an unfortunate battle fought against CHARLES, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counsel, yet certainly with the consent, of the Roman pontiff, are well known to such as have the smallest acquaintance with the history of these unhappy times.

Gregory X.

XIII. Upon the death of CLEMENT IV [q], there arose warm and vehement contests among the cardinals concerning the election of a new pontiff. These debates, which kept the Roman see vacant during the space of three years, were at length terminated in favour of THEALD, or THIBALD, a native of *Placentia*, and archbishop of *Liege*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1271, and assumed the title of GREGORY X [r]. This devout ecclesiastic was in the Holy Land when he received the news of his election; and, as he had been an eye-witness of the miserable condition of the Christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart, as the

[q] Which happened in the year 1268.

[r] The records of this election are published by LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 330.

desire

desire of contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that, immediately after his consecration, he summoned a council to meet at *Lyons*, in the year 1274, in which the relief and maintenance of the Christians in *Palestine*, and the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two great points, that were to come principally under deliberation. This assembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontiff, and more especially, by the famous law, which is still in force, and by which it was enacted, that the cardinal electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With respect to the character and sentiments of the new pope we shall only observe, that, though he seemed to be actuated by a milder spirit than many of his predecessors, yet he inculcated, without the least hesitation, that odious maxim of GREGORY VII, that declared the bishop of *Rome* the lord of the world, and, in a more especial manner, of the Roman empire. It was in consequence of this presumptuous system, that, in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious and threatening letter to the German princes, in which, deaf to the pretensions and remonstrances of ALPHONSUS, king of *Castile* [s], he ordered them to elect an emperor without delay, assuring them, that, if they did not do it immediately, he would do it for them. This letter produced the designed effect; an electoral diet was assembled at *Francfort*, and RODOLPHUS, count of *Hapsburg*, was raised to the imperial throne.

XIV. GREGORY X was succeeded, in the year 1276, by PETER of *Tarantaise*, of the Dominican order, and bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the name of INNOCENT V, and died about five months after his election. OTTOBONI, a native of *Genoa*, and cardinal of *St. Adrian*, was chosen

C E N T.
XIII.
P A R T II.

Innocent V.
Adrian V.
John XXI.
Nicolas III.

[s] ALPHONSUS, king of *Castile*, had been elected emperor in the year 1256, by the archbishop of *Triers*, the duke of *Saxony*, the margrave of *Brandenburg*, and the king of *Bohemia*, in opposition to RICHARD, duke of *Cornwall*, brother of HENRY III king of *England*, who was at the same time raised to the same dignity by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Bologn*, the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*.

CENT. in his place, took the title of ADRIAN V [t], and, after
 XIII. having ruled the church during five weeks, was succeeded
 PART II. by PETER JULIAN, bishop of *Tusculum*, who enjoyed that
 high dignity about eight months, and is distinguished in
 the papal list by the name of JOHN XXI [u]. The see
 of *Rome* continued vacant for above six months after the
 death of the last mentioned pontiff, but was at length filled
 in the month of November, 1277, by JOHN CAJETAN,
 of the family of *Ursins*, cardinal of *St. Nicolas*, whose
 name he adopted for his papal title. This famous pontiff,
 as has been already observed, augmented greatly both the
 opulence and authority of the bishops of *Rome*, and had
 formed vast projects, which his undaunted courage and his
 remarkable activity would have enabled him, without
 doubt, to execute with success, had not death blasted his
 hopes, and disconcerted his ambitious schemes.

Martin IV. XV. He was succeeded in the year 1281, about six months
 Nicolas IV. after his departure from this life, by SIMON DE BRIE,
 who adopted the name of MARTIN IV, and was not in-
 ferior to NICOLAS III, in ambition, arrogance, and con-
 stancy of mind, of which he gave several proofs during
 his pontificate. MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian
 emperor, was one of the first princes, who was solemnly
 excommunicated by this audacious priest, and that, un-
 der the pretext of his having broken the peace that had
 been concluded between the Greek and Latin churches,
 at the council of *Lions* [w]. The same insult was com-
 mitted against PETER, king of *Arragon*, whom MARTIN
 not only excluded from the bosom of the church, but
 also deposed from his throne, on account of his attempt
 upon *Sicily*, and made a grant of his kingdom, fiefs, and
 possessions to CHARLES, son of PHILIP the Bold [x],
 king of *France*. It was during the execution of such
 daring enterprizes as these, and while he was meditating

[t] We read in the Latin, ADRIAN VI, which is more probably
 an error of the press, than a fault of the author.

[u] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM observes that these three succe-
 ssors of GREGORY were elected and carried off by death in the year 1276;
 but here he has fallen into a slight mistake; for JOHN XXI died the 16th of
 May 1277.

[w] This council had been held under the pontificate of GREGORY X.

[x] PHILIPPE LE HARDI, as he is called by the French,

still greater things for the glory of the Roman hierarchy, C E N T. XIII. PART II. that a sudden death, in the year 1285, obliged him to leave his schemes unfinished. They were, however, prosecuted with great spirit by his successor, JAMES SAVELLI, who chose the denomination of HONORIUS IV, but was also stopt short, in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. JEROME D'ASCOLI, bishop of *Palæstrina*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of NICOLAS IV, distinguished himself, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his decision; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions and privileges of the church with the most resolute zeal and the most obstinate perseverance; at other times, again, we see him employing, with the utmost assiduity, every probable method of propagating the gospel among the Tartars and other eastern nations. But the object which, of all others, occupied most the thoughts of this vigilant and zealous pontiff, was the desperate state of the Christians in *Palestine*, who were now reduced to the greatest extremities of misery and weakness. His laborious efforts were therefore employed for the restoration of their former grandeur; they were however employed in vain, and his death, which happened in the year 1292, disconcerted all the projects he had formed for that purpose.

XVI. The death of this pontiff was followed by a vacancy of three years in the see of *Rome*, which was owing to the disputes that arose among the cardinals about the election of a new pope. These disputes were at length terminated, and the contending parties united their suffrages in favour of PETER, surnamed DI MURRONE, from a mountain where he had hitherto lived in the deepest solitude and with the utmost austerity. This venerable old man, who was in high renown on account of the remarkable sanctity of his life and conversation, was raised to the pontificate in the year 1294, and assumed the name of CELESTINE V. But the austerity of his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more especially upon the

C E N T.
XIII.
P A R T II.

the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration (which shewed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the church, than the increase of its opulence and the propagation of its authority) that he was almost universally considered as unworthy of the pontificate. Hence it was, that several of the cardinals, and particularly BENEDICT CAJETAN, advised him to abdicate the papacy, which he had accepted with such reluctance, and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility. The good man resigned his dignity the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1296, in the castle of *Fumone*, where his tyrannic and suspicious successor kept him in captivity, that he might not be engaged, by the sollicitations of his friends, to attempt the recovery of his abdicated honours. His memory was precious to the virtuous part of the church, and he was elevated to the rank of a saint by CLEMENT V. It was from him that the branch of the Benedictine order, called *Celestines*, and which yet subsists in *France* and in *Italy*, derived its origin [y].

Boniface
VIII.

XVII. BENEDICT CAJETAN, who had persuaded the good pontiff now mentioned to resign his place, succeeded him in it in the year 1294, and took the name of BONIFACE VIII. We may say, with truth, of this unworthy prelate, that he was born to be a plague both to church and state, a disturber of the repose of nations, and that his attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman pontiffs, were carried to a length that approached to frenzy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of the Decretals*, declared war against the illustrious family of *Colonna*, who disputed his title to the pontificate [z]; in a word,

[y] HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 18c.

[z] The reasons they alledged for disputing the title of BONIFACE exhibited

exhibited to the church, and to *Europe*, a lively image of C E N T.
the tyrannical administration of GREGORY VII, whom XIII.
he perhaps surpassed in arrogance [a]. It was this pontiff PART II.
that, in the year 1300, instituted the famous jubilee,
which, since that time, has been regularly celebrated in
the Roman church, at certain fixed periods. But the
consideration of this institution, which was so favourable
to the progress of licentiousness and corruption, as also
the other exploits of BONIFACE, and his deplorable end,
belong to the history of the following century [b].

XVIII. In the council of Lateran that was held in New monas-
the year 1215, a decree had been passed, by the advice of tic orders,
INNOCENT III, to prevent the introduction of *new reli-*
gions, by which was meant, new monastic institutions.
This decree however seemed to be very little respected,
either by that pontiff or his successors, since several reli-
gious orders, hitherto unknown in the Christian world,
were not only tolerated, but were moreover distinguished
by peculiar marks of approbation and favour, and en-
riched with various privileges and prerogatives. Nor
will this tacit abrogation of the decree of INNOCENT
appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of
the church in this century. For, not to mention many
enormities that contributed to the suspension of this de-
cree, we shall only observe, that the enemies of Christi-
anity, and the *heretical* sects, increased daily every where;
and, on the other hand, the *secular* clergy were more at-
tentive to their worldly advantages than to the interests
of the church, and spent in mirth and jollity the opulence
with which the piety of their ancestors had enriched that
sacred body. The monastic orders also had almost all
degenerated from their primitive sanctity, and, exhibit-

to the pontificate were, that the resignation of CELESTINE was not *canno-*
nical, and, moreover, that it was brought about by fraudulent means.

[a] There is a history of this pontiff written by JO. RUBEUS, a Bene-
dictin monk, whose work, which is entitled *BONIFACIUS VIII, e familia*
Cajetanorum principum Romanus pontifex, was published at Rome in the year
1651, in 4to.

[b] In this account of the popes, I have chiefly followed DANIEL PAPER-
BROCH, FRANCIS PAGI, and MURATORI, in his *Annales Italiae*, con-
sulting, at the same time, the original sources collected by the last mentioned
author, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

C E N T. ing the most offensive and shocking examples of licentiousness and vice to public view, rendered by their flagitious lives the cause of heresy triumphant, instead of retarding its progress. All these things being considered, it was thought necessary to encourage the establishment of new monastic societies, who, by the sanctity of their manners, might attract the esteem and veneration of the people, and diminish the indignation which the tyranny and ambition of the pontiffs had so universally excited; and who, by their diligence and address, their discourses and their arguments, their power and arms, when these violent means were required, might discover, persecute, convert, and vanquish the growing tribe of heretics.

Several of
the mona-
stic institu-
tions sup-
pressed.

XIX. Of the religious societies that arose in this century some are now entirely suppressed, while others continue to flourish, and are in high repute at this present time. Among the former we may reckon the *Humiliati* (a title expressive of great humility and self-abasement) whose origin may be traced to a much earlier period than the present century, though their order was confirmed and new modelled by INNOCENT III, who subjected it to the rule of St. BENEDICT. These humble monks became so shockingly licentious in process of time, that, in the year 1571, Pope PIUS V. was obliged to dissolve their society [c]. We may also place in the list of the suppressed monasteries the *Jacobins*, who were erected into a religious order by INNOCENT III [d], and who, in this very century, not long after the council of *Lyons*, were deprived of their charter; the *Vallischoles*, or *scholars of the valley*, so called from their being instituted by the *scholares*, i. e. the four professors of divinity in the university of *Paris*, and from a deep vale in the province of *Champagne* in which they assembled and fixed their residence in the year 1234 [e]. This society, whose foundation was laid about the commencement of this century, was formerly governed by the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, but is now incorporated into the order of the *Regular canons of St. Genievieve*. To the same class belong the order of the

[c] HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 152.

[d] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 161.

[e] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 15.—*Acta Sanct. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 482.

blessed

blessed Virgin Mary the mother of Christ, which had its commencement in the year 1266, and was suppressed in 1274 [f]; the *Knights of faith and charity*, who undertook to disperse the bands of robbers that infested the public roads in *France*, and who were favoured with the peculiar protection and approbation of GREGORY IX [g]; the *Hermits of St. William duke of Aquitaine* [h]; not to mention the *Brethren of the sack*, the *Bethlehemites*, and other orders of inferior note, that started up in this century, which, of all others, was the most remarkable for the number and variety of monastic establishments, that date their origin from it [i].

XX. Among the convents that were founded in this century, and still subsist, the principal place is due to that of the *servites*, i. e. *the servants of the blessed Virgin*, whose order was first instituted, A. D. 1223, in *Tuscany*, by seven Florentine merchants, and afterwards made a great progress under the government of PHILIP BENIZI its chief. This order, though subjected to the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, was, nevertheless, erected in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin; for which reason its monks wear a black habit [k], and observe several rules unknown to other monasteries. The prodigious numbers of Christians, that were made prisoners by the Mahometans in *Palestine*, gave rise, towards the conclusion of the XIIth century, to the institution of the order, entitled, *The Fraternity of the Trinity*, which, in the following age, received a still greater degree of stability, under the pontificate of HONORIUS III, and also of his successor CLEMENT IV. The first founders of this institution were JOHN DE MATHA and FELIX DE

[f] DION. SAMMARTHANI *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 653.

[g] *Gallia Christ.* tom. i. *Append.* p. 165.—MARTENE, *Voyage Liter. de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 23.

[h] JO. BOLLANDI *De ordine Eremitar. S. Guilielmi Comm. in actis SS. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

[i] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 815. edit. Watts. Where, speaking of the prodigious number of convents that were founded in *England* during this century, he expresseth himself thus: *Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata.*

[k] Besides the ordinary writers of the Monastic History, see PAULI FLORENTINI *Dialog. de origine Ordinis Servorum*, in LAMII *Deliciis Eruditorum*, tom. i. p. 1—48.

CENT. VALOIS, two pious men, who led an austere and solitary life at *Cerfroy*, in the diocese of *Meaux*, which is still the seat of the principal convent of the order. The monks of this society are called the *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*, because all their churches are solemnly dedicated to that profound mystery; they are also styled **MATHURINS**, from their having a monastery at *Paris* erected in a place where there is a chapel consecrated to **St. MATHURIN**, and *Brethren of the redemption of captives* [l], because the grand design of their institution was to find out means for restoring liberty to the Christian captives in the Holy Land, in which charitable work they are obliged to employ the third part of their revenue. Their manner of life was, at first, extremely abstemious and austere; but its austerity has been from time to time considerably mitigated by the indulgence and lenity of the pontiffs [m].

The Mendicant order.

XXI. The religious society that surpassed all the rest in the purity of its manners, the extent of its fame, the number of its privileges, and the multitude of its members, was that of the *Mendicant*, or begging friars, whose order was first established in this century, and who, by the tenor of their institution, were to remain entirely

[l] **BROUGHTON** and some other writers make a distinction between the *Order of the redemption of captives*, and the *Fraternity*, or *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*. They alledge, that the latter order was instituted at *Rome* by **St. PHILIP NERI**, in the year 1548, about 350 years after the first establishment of the former; and that the monks, who composed it, were obliged, by their vow, to take care of the pilgrims who resorted from all parts of the world to *Rome*, to visit the tombs of **St. PETER** and **St. PAUL**.

[m] Beside **HELYOT** and the other writers of the *Monastic History*, see **TOUSSAINT DE PLESSIS**, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172 and 566.—**BOULAY**, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 523. **ANT. WOOD**, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this society is frequently styled the *Order of Asses*, on account of the prohibition of the use of horses, which made a part of their rule, and which obliged the mendicant monks to ride upon asses. See **CAR. DU FRESNE**'s *Notes upon Joinville's Life of St. Lewis*, p. 81. But at present, through the indulgence of the Roman pontiffs, they are permitted to make use of horses when they find them necessary. An order of the same kind was instituted in *Spain*, in the year 1228, by **PAUL NOLASCO**, under the title of the *Order of St. MARY for the redemption of Captives*. See the *Acta Sanctorum. Januar.* tom. ii p. 980.

destitute

destitute of all fixed revenues and possessions. The present state and circumstances of the church rendered the establishment of such an order absolutely necessary. The monastic orders, who wallowed in opulence, were, by the corrupting influence of their ample possessions, lulled in a luxurious indolence. They lost sight of all their religious obligations, trampled upon the authority of their superiors, suffered heresy to triumph unrestrained, and the sectaries to form assemblies in several places; in short, they were incapable of contributing in any respect to promote the true interests of the church, and abandoned themselves, without either shame or remorse, to all manner of crimes. On the other hand, the enemies of the church, the various sects which had left its communion, followed certain austere rules of life and conduct, which formed a strong contrast between them and the religious orders, and contributed to render the licentiousness of the latter still more offensive and shocking to the people. These sects maintained, that voluntary poverty was the leading and essential quality in a servant of CHRIST, obliged their doctors to imitate the simplicity of the apostles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy, that flowed from thence as from their natural source, and by this commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of respect, and gained a prodigious ascendant over the minds of the multitude. All this rendered it absolutely necessary to introduce into the church a set of men, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and maxims, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the heretical sects, and who might be so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced, by the promises or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from persevering in their subordination to the Roman pontiffs. INNOCENT III was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of instituting such an order; and, accordingly, he gave such monastic societies as made a profession of poverty the most distinguishing marks of his protection and favour.

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They were also encouraged and patronized by the succeeding pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their public and extensive usefulness. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and swarmed so prodigiously in all the European provinces, that they became a burthen, not only to the people, but to the church itself.

Its history.

XXII. The great inconveniency that arose from the excessive multiplication of the mendicant orders, was remedied by GREGORY X, in a general council which he assembled at *Lyons* in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders, that had sprung up after the council held at *Rome*, in the year 1215, under the pontificate of INNOCENT III, were suppressed, and the *extravagant multitude of mendicants*, as GREGORY called them, were reduced to a smaller number, and confined to the four following societies, or denominations, viz. the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, the *Carmelites*, and the *Hermits of St. Augustin* [n]. The *Carmelite* order, which had been instituted in *Palestine*, during the preceding century, was, in this, transplanted into *Europe*, and, in the year 1226, was favoured by pope HONORIUS III, with a place among the monastic societies, which enjoyed the protection and approbation of the church. The *Hermits of St. Augustin* had for their founder ALEXANDER IV [o], who, observing that the *Hermits* were divided into several societies, some of which followed the maxims of the famous WILLIAM, others the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, while others again were distinguished by different denominations, formed the wise project of uniting them all into one religious order, and subjecting them to the same rule

[n] *Concil. Lugd. II. A. 1274, Can. xxiii.* in JO. HARDUINI *Conciliis*, tom. vii. p. 715. *Importuna potentium inbiatio Religionum* (so were the religious orders entitled) *multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium . . . effrænata multitudinem adinvenit . . . Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium* (i. e. the council of Lateran held in 1215) *adinventos . . . perpetua prohibitioni subjecimus.*

[o] This edict of pope ALEXANDER IV is to be found in the new edition of the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110.—See also *Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

of discipline, even that which bears the name of St. CENT.
AUGUSTIN. This project was put in execution in the XIII.
year 1256. PART II.

XXIII. As the pontiffs allowed these four Mendicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the multitude wherever they went; and, as these monks exhibited, in their outward appearance and manner of life, more striking marks of gravity and holiness, than were observable in the other monastic societies, they arose all at once to the very summit of fame, and were regarded with the utmost esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of *Europe*. Attracts the veneration and esteem of the public. The enthusiastic attachment to these sanctimonious beggars went so far, that, as we learn from the most authentic records, several cities were divided, or cantoned out, into four parts, with a view to these four orders; the first part was assigned to the Dominicans; the second, to the Franciscans; the third, to the Carmelites; and the fourth, to the Augustinians. The people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from any other hands than those of the Mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely desirous to deposite there also their remains, after death; all which occasioned grievous complaints among the ordinary priests, to whom the cure of souls was committed, and who considered themselves as the spiritual guides of the multitude. Nor did the influence and credit of the Mendicants end here; for we find, in the history of this and of the succeeding ages, that they were employed not only in spiritual matters, but also in temporal and political affairs of the greatest consequence, in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, presiding in cabinet-councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not only remote from, but absolutely inconsistent with, the monastic character and profession.

XXIV. We must not however imagine, that all the Mendicant friars attained to the same degree of reputation and authority; for the power of the Dominicans and Franciscans surpassed greatly that of the other two orders, and rendered them singularly conspicuous in the

CENT. eyes of the world. During three centuries, these two
 XIII. fraternities governed, with an almost universal and abso-
 PART II. lute sway, both state and church, filled the most eminent
 posts ecclesiastical and civil, taught in the universities
 and churches with an authority, before which all oppo-
 sition was silent, and maintained the pretended majesty
 and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs against kings,
 princes, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardor and
 equal success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were,
 before the Reformation, what the Jesuits have been since
 that happy and glorious period, the very soul of the
 hierarchy, the engines of the state, the secret springs of
 all the motions of the one and the other, and the authors
 or directors of every great and important event both in
 the religious and political world. DOMINIC, a Spaniard
 by birth, a native of the village of *Calaroga*, descendant
 of the illustrious house of *Guzman*, and regular canon of
Osma, a man of a fiery and impetuous temper, and vehe-
 mently exasperated by the commotions and contests
 which the heretics of different denominations had ex-
 cited in the church, set out for *France* with a few com-
 panions, in order to combat the sectaries, that were mul-
 tiplied in that kingdom. This enterprize he executed
 with the greatest vigour, and, we may add, fury, at-
 tacking the Albigenes and the other enemies of the
 church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms,
 the subtilty of controversial writings, and the terrors of
 the *inquisition*, which owed its form to this violent and
 sanguine priest. Passing from thence into *Italy*, he was
 honoured by the Roman pontiffs INNOCENT III and
 HONORIUS III with the most distinguished marks of their
 protection and favour; and, after many labours in the
 cause of the church, obtained from them the privilege of
 erecting this new fraternity, whose principal design was
 the extirpation of error, and the destruction of heretics.
 The first rule which he adopted for the new society was
 that of the *Canons of St. Augustin*, to which he added
 several austere precepts and observances. But he after-
 wards changed the discipline of the canons for that of
 the monks; and, holding a chapter of the order at
Bologna in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take
 a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all
 their

their revenues and all their possessions. He did not live long enough to see the consequences of this reformation, for he died the year following at *Bologna* [q]. His monks were, at first, distinguished by the denomination of *preaching friars*, because public instruction was the main end of their institution; but were afterwards called Dominicans after their founder [r]. [¶ Just before his death DOMINIC sent GILBERT DE FRESNEY with twelve of the brethren into *England*, where they founded their first monastery at *Oxford* in the year 1221, and soon after, another at *London*. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of the city of *London* gave them two whole streets by the river *Thames*, where they erected a very commodious convent, whence that place is still called *Black-Fryars*, for so the Dominicans were called in *England*.]

XXV. FRANCIS, the founder of the famous order that bears his name, was the son of a merchant of *Affisi*, in the province of *Umbria*, and a young man who led, for some time, a most debauched and dissolute life. Upon his recovery from a severe fit of sickness, which was the consequence and punishment of his licentious conduct, he changed his method of living, and, as extremes are natural to men of warm imaginations, fell into an extravagant kind of devotion, that looked less like religion than alienation of mind. Sometime after this [s], he happened to be in a church, where he heard that passage of the scriptures repeated, in which CHRIST addresses his apostles in the following manner: *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey,*

[q] See JAC. ECHARD. and QUETIF in *Scriptoribus Ord. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 84.—*Acta Sanctor. April.* tom. iii. p. 872.—NICOL. JANSENII *Vita S. Dominici*, *Antwerp*, 1622, in 8vo Add to these the long list of writers mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. med. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137. and also ANTONII BREMONDI *Bullarium Ordinis Dominicani*, published some years ago at *Rome*.

[r] The Dominicans are called *Fratres Majores* in several of the ancient records; see ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 172. This appellation, however, by which the Dominicans were set in opposition to the Franciscans, who call themselves *Fratres Minores*, is rather a term of derision than a real name. In *France* the Dominicans are called *Jacobins*, from the street where their first convent was erected at *Paris* in the year 1218, which street was dedicated to *St. James*, and is still known by the name of *Rue de St. Jaques*.

[s] In the year 1208.

CENT. XIII. PART II. *neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat* [t]. This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel, and the soul of religion, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule, both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose founder and chief was, undoubtedly, a pious and well-meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to INNOCENT III extremely adapted to the present state of the church, and proper to restore its declining credit, was solemnly approved and confirmed by HONORIUS III, in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its devout founder was called from this life in the year 1226. FRANCIS, through an excessive humility, would not suffer the monks of his order to be called *Fratres*, i. e. *brethren*, or *friars*, but *Fraterculi*, i. e. *little brethren*, or *friars-minors* [u], by which denomination they still continue to be distinguished [w]. The Franciscans came into *England* in the reign of HENRY III, and their first establishment was at *Canterbury*.

The eminent services rendered to the Roman pontiffs by the Dominicans and Franciscans.

XXVI. These two celebrated orders restored the church from that declining condition in which it had been languishing for many years, by the zeal and activity

[t] *Matthew* x. 9, 10.

[u] They were called *Fratricelli* by the Italians, *Freres Mineurs* by the French, and *Fratres Minores* by the Latin writers.

[w] BONAVENTURE wrote a life of St. FRANCIS, which has passed through several editions. But the most ample and circumstantial accounts of this extraordinary man are given by LUKE WADDING, in the first volume of his *Annal. Minorum*, which contains a complete history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by a great number of authentic records, and the best edition of which is that published at *Rome* in 1731, and the following years, in eighteen volumes in folio, by JOSEPH MARIA FONSECA AB EBORA. It is to the same WADDING that we are obliged for the *Opuscula Sci. Francisci*, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, the former of which was published in 4to at *Antwerp*, in the year 1623, and the latter at *Rome*, in 4to likewise, in 1650. The other writers, who have given accounts of the Franciscan order, are mentioned by Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573.

with which they set themselves to discover and extirpate heretics, to undertake various negotiations and embassies for the interests of the hierarchy, and to confirm the wavering multitude in their implicit obedience to the Roman pontiffs. These ghostly rulers, on the other hand, sensible of their obligations to the new monks, which, no doubt, were very great, not only employed them in every affair they looked upon as of high importance, and raised them to the most eminent stations in the church, but also accumulated upon them employments and privileges, which, if they enriched them on the one hand, could not fail to render them odious on the other [x], and to excite the envy and complaints of other ecclesiastics. Such, among many other extraordinary prerogatives, was the permission they received from the pontiffs, of preaching to the multitude, hearing *confession*, and pronouncing *absolution*, without any licence from the bishops, and even without consulting them; to which we may add the treasure of ample and extensive *indulgences*, whose distribution was committed by the popes to the Franciscans, as a mean of subsistence and a rich indemnification for their voluntary poverty [y]. These

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[x] The popes were so infatuated with the Franciscans, that those whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domestic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See for a confirmation of this, the following passages in the *Histor. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS: *Fratres minores et prædicatores* (says he) *invitos, ut credimus, jam suos fecit dominus papa, non sine ordinis eorum læsione et scandalo, telonarios et bedellos*, p. 634.—*Non cessavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratribus prædicatoribus et minoribus, etiam invitis, non jam piscatoribus hominum, sed nummorum*, p. 639. Conf. p. 662. 664.—*Erant Minores et Prædicatores magnatum consiliatores et nuncii, etiam domini papæ secretarii: nimis in hoc gratiam sibi sæcularem comparantes; ad An. 1236, p. 354.—Facti sunt eo tempore Prædicatores et Minores regum consiliarii et nuntii speciales, ut sicut quondam mollibus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus vestiebantur, in domibus, cameris, et palatiis essent principum; ad An. 1239, p. 465.*

[y] See BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 490. tom. vii. p. 392.—It is well known that no religious order had the distribution of so many and such ample *indulgences* as the Franciscans. Nor could these good friars live and multiply as they did, without some source of profit, since, by their institution, they were to be destitute of revenues and possessions of every kind. It was therefore in the place of fixed revenues, that such fat *indulgences* were put into their hands.

acts

CENT. XIII. acts of liberality and marks of protection, lavished upon the Dominican and Franciscan *friars* with such an ill-judged profusion, as they overturned the ancient discipline of the church, and were a manifest encroachment upon the rights of the first and second orders of the ecclesiastical rulers, produced the most unhappy and bitter dissensions between the Mendicant orders and the bishops. And these dissensions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited throughout all the European provinces, and even in the city of *Rome* [z], under the very eye of the pontiffs, the most dreadful disturbances and tumults. The measures taken by the popes to appease these tumults were various, but ineffectual; because their principal view was to support the cause of their faithful servants and creatures, the Mendicant friars, and to maintain them in the possession of their honours and advantages [a].

The dispute
between the
Dominicans
and the uni-
versity of
Paris.

XXVII. Among all the controversies which were maintained by the Mendicants, whether against the bishops, abbots, schools, or other religious orders, none was so famous, as that which arose, in the year 1228, between the Dominicans and the university of *Paris*, and was prolonged, with various success, until the year 1259. The Dominicans claimed, as their unquestionable right, two theological classes in that celebrated university, one of which had been taken from them, and an academical law passed, that no religious order should have what the Dominicans demanded. These latter, however, persisted obstinately in reclaiming the professorship they had lost; while the doctors of the university, perceiving the restless and contentious spirit that animated their efforts, excluded them from their society, and formed themselves into a separate body. This measure was considered as a declaration of war; and, accordingly, the most vehement commotions arose between the contending parties.

[z] BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 447.

[a] See JO. LAUNOII *Explicata Ecclesiæ Traditio circa Canonem: Omnis utriusque Sexus*, tom. i. part I. opp. p. 247.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 326.—LENFANT, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 310. tom. ii. p. 8.—ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 404. The circumstances of these flaming contests are mentioned by all the writers both of this and the following centuries.

The debate was brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff in the year 1255; and the decision, as might well have been expected, was in favour of the monks.

ALEXANDER IV. ordered the university of *Paris* not only to restore the Dominicans to their former place in that learned society, but moreover to make a grant to them of as many classes or professorships, as they should think proper to demand. This unjust and despotic sentence was opposed by the university with the utmost vigour, and thus the contest was renewed with double fury. But the magistrates of *Paris* were, at length, so terrified and overwhelmed with the thundering edicts and formidable mandates of the exasperated pontiff, that, in the year 1259, they yielded to superior force, and satisfied the demands not only of the Dominican, but also of the Franciscan order, in obedience to the pope, and to the extent of his commands [b]. Hence arose that secret enmity, that silent ill-will, which prevailed so long between the university of *Paris* and the Mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, and which are not yet entirely extinguished.

XXVIII. In this famous debate none pleaded the cause of the university with greater spirit, and asserted its rights with greater zeal and activity, than GUILLAUME DE ST. AMOUR, doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of true genius, worthy to have lived in better times, and capable of adorning a more enlightened age. This vigorous and able champion attacked the whole Mendicant tribe in various treatises with the greatest vehemence, and more especially in a book *Concerning the perils of the latter times*. He maintained publicly, that their discipline was in direct opposition to the precepts of the gospel; and that, in confirming and approving it, the popes had been guilty of temerity, and the church was become chargeable with error [c]. What gave occasion to the remarkable title of

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The Dominicans meet with a formidable adversary.

[b] See CÆS. EGASS. DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248. 256, &c.—JO. CORDESI, or (to mention him by the name he assumes) JO. ALIOPHILI *Præf. Hist. et Apologetica ad Opera Guilielmi de S. Amore*.—ANTOINE TONRON, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 247. 366. tom. iv. p. 14. 52. 106. 263.—MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major, ad An. 1228*, & NAN-
GIS *Chronicon* apud DACHERIUM; *Spicilegii*, tom. iii. p. 38.

[c] 2 Timothy, iii. 1.

C E N T. this famous book, was the author's being entirely persuaded that the prophecy of St. PAUL, relating to the
 XIII. *perilous times that were to come in the last days [e]*, was fulfilled in the establishment of the Mendicant friars. This
 PART II. notion St. AMOUR maintained in the warmest manner, and proved it, principally, from the book called the *Everlasting Gospel*, which was explained publicly by the Dominicans and Franciscans, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. The fury and resentment of the Mendicants were therefore kindled, in a peculiar manner, against this formidable adversary, whom they persecuted without interruption, until, in the year 1256, ALEXANDER VI. ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and banished its author out of *France*, lest he should excite the Sorbonne to renew their opposition to these ghostly beggars. St. AMOUR submitted to the papal edict, and retired into the *Franche Comté*, which was the place of his birth; but, under the pontificate of CLEMENT IV, he returned to *Paris*, where he illustrated the tenets of his famous book in a more extensive work, and died universally esteemed and regretted by all ranks and orders of men, except the Mendicants [d].

The pride
and arrogance of the
Mendicants.

XXIX. While the pontiffs accumulated upon the Mendicants the most honourable distinctions, and the most

[c] 2 Timothy iii. 1.

[d] The doctors of the university of *Paris* profess still a high respect for the memory of St. AMOUR, esteem his book, and deny obstinately that he was ever placed in the list of *heretics*. The Dominicans, on the contrary, consider him as a heretic of the first magnitude, if we may use that expression. Such of his works as could be found were published in 4to, in the year 1632, at *Paris* (though the title bears *Constantia*) by CORDESIUS, who has prefixed to them a long and learned Preface, in which he defends the reputation and orthodoxy of St. AMOUR in a triumphant manner. This learned editor, to avoid the resentment and fury of the Mendicants, concealed his real name, and assumed that of Jo. ALITOPHILUS. This did not, however, save his book from the vengeance of these friars, who obtained from LEWIS XIII, in the year 1633, an edict for its suppression, which TOUZON, a Dominican friar, has published in his *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 164.—For a farther account of the life of this famous doctor, see WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 366.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 266.—NAT. ALEX. *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xiii.* cap. iii. Art. vii. p. 95.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 345.

valuable

valuable privileges which they had to bestow, they ex-^{C E N T.} posed them still more and more to the envy and hatred of the rest of the clergy; and this hatred was considerably^{XIII.} increased by the audacious arrogance that discovered itself^{P A R T II.} every where in the conduct of these supercilious orders. They had the presumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of JESUS; they treated with the utmost insolence and contempt all the different ranks and orders of the priesthood; they affirmed, without a blush, that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone, proclaimed with ostentation the superior efficacy and virtue of their *indulgences*, and vaunted, beyond measure, their interests at the court of heaven, and their familiar connexions with the Supreme Being, the Virgin MARY, and the saints in glory. By these impious wiles, they so deluded and captivated the miserable and blinded multitude, that they would not entrust any others but the Mendicants with the care of their souls, their spiritual and eternal concerns [e]. We may give, as a specimen of these notorious frauds, the ridiculous fable, which the Carmelites impose upon the credulous, relating to SIMON STOCKIUS, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. To this ecclesiastic, they tell us that the Virgin MARY appeared, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of such as left the world with the Carmelite cloak or *scapulary* upon their shoulders, should be infallibly preserved from eternal damnation [f]. And here let it be observed to the astonishment of all, in whom the power of superstition has not extinguished the plainest dictates of common sense, that this fiction, ridiculous and impious as it was, found patrons and defenders even among the pontiffs [g].

[e] See MATTHEW PARIS, *ad A. 1246, Hist. Major*, p. 607. 630, &c.

[f] See Jo. LAUNOIE *Lib. de Viso Stockii Oper.* tom. ii. part II. p. 379. — *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Menfis Maii ad diem xvi.* — THEOPH. RAYNAUDE *Scapulare Marianum*, tom. vii. opp. p. 614.

[g] The late pope BENEDICT XIV, notwithstanding his pretended freedom from superstition and priestly fraud, has deigned to appear among the supporters of this gross fiction, though he defends it with his usual air of prudence and timidity, in his book *De Fests B. Mariæ Virg.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 472. tom. x. opp. edit. Rom.

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P A R T II.

Contests be-
tween the
Dominicans
and Fran-
ciscans.

XXX. It is however certain, that the Mendicant orders, though they were considered as the main pillars of the hierarchy, and the principal supports of the papal authority, involved the pontiffs, after the death of DOMINIC and FRANCIS, in many perplexities and troubles, which were no sooner dispelled than they were unhappily renewed; and thus the church was often reduced to a state of imminent danger. These tumults and perplexities began with the contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans about pre-eminence, in which these *humble* monks loaded each other with the bitterest invectives and the severest accusations both in their writings and their discourse, and opposed each other's interests with all the fury of disappointed ambition. Many schemes were formed, and various measures were employed, for terminating these scandalous dissensions; but the root of the evil still remained, and the flame was rather covered than extinguished [b]. Besides this, the Franciscans were early divided among themselves, and split into several factions, which gathered strength and consistence from day to day, and not only disturbed the tranquillity of the church, but struck at the supreme jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs. And whoever considers with attention the series of events that happened in the Latin church from this remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the Mendicant orders, whether through imprudence or design we shall not determine, gave several mortal blows to the authority of the church of *Rome*, and excited in the minds of the people those ardent desires of a reformation in the church, which produced, in after-times, such substantial and such glorious effects.

Intestine di-
visions a-
mong the
Franciscans
occasioned
by different
explications
of their rule.

XXXI. The occasion of these intestine divisions among the Franciscans, was a dispute about the precise meaning of their rule. Their founder and chief had made absolute poverty one of their indispensable obligations. The religious orders before his time were so constituted, that, though no single monk had any personal property, yet the whole community, considered as one collective body, had possessions and revenues, from whence each indivi-

[b] See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, tom. i. p. 256, 266, 278, &c. LUC. WADDINGI *Annales Minor*, tom. iii. p. 380.

dual drew the means of his subsistence. But the austere chief of the Franciscans absolutely prohibited both separate and collective property to the monks of his order; and neither the individual nor the community were permitted to possess either fund, revenue, or any worldly goods [i]. This injunction appeared so severe to several of the Friars-minors, that they took the liberty to dispense with it as soon as their founder was dead; and in this they were seconded by the Roman pontiff, GREGORY IX, who, in the year 1231, published an interpretation of this rule, which mitigated considerably its excessive rigor [k]. But this mitigation was far from being agreeable to all the Franciscans; it shocked the austere monks of that order, those, particularly, who were called the *Spiritual* [l], whose melancholy temper rendered them fond of every thing harsh and gloomy, and whose fanatical spirit hurried them always into extremes. Hence arose a warm debate, which INNOCENT IV decided, in the year 1245, in favour of those, who were for mitigating the severity of the rule in question. By this decree of the pontiff it was enacted, that the Franciscan friars should be permitted to possess certain places, habitations, goods and chattels, books, &c. and to make use of them, but that the *property* of all these things should reside in St. PETER, or the Roman church; so that without the consent of the Roman pontiff they might neither be sold, changed, nor transferred, under any pretext whatsoever. This edict was considered by the gloomy part of the order as a most pernicious depravation of their holy rule, and was, consequently, opposed and rejected by them with indignation. Hence many of these *spiritual* mal-contents retired into the woods and

[i] The words of the rule itself relating to this point are as follow: C. vi. *Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem: sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro elemosyna confidenter . . . (i. e. let them be sturdy beggars) . . . Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni cælorum instituit.*

[k] This bull was published by EMMANUEL RODERIC, in his *Collectio privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

[l] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 99. they were also called *Zelateres*, and *Cæsarians*, from their chief, CÆSARIUS.

deserts,

C E N T. desarts, while others were apprehended by CRESCENTIUS, XIII. the general of the society, and sent into exile [m].

P A R T II. XXXII. The face of affairs was, however, soon changed in their favour, when, in the year 1247, JOHN of *Parma* was chosen general of the order. This famous ecclesiastic, who was zealously attached to the sentiments of the *spiritual*, recalled them from their exile, and inculcated upon all his monks a strict and unlimited obedience to the very letter of the rule that had been drawn up by St. FRANCIS [n]. By this reform, he brought back the order to its primitive state; and the only reward he obtained for his zealous labours was to be accused as a rebellious heretic at the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, ALEXANDER IV, in consequence of which he was obliged to resign his post. He had also the mortification to see the monks who adhered to his sentiments cast into prison, which unhappy lot he himself escaped with great difficulty [o]. His successor, the famous BONAVENTURA, who was one of the most eminent scholastic divines of this century, proposed steering a middle course between the two contending factions, having nothing so much at heart as to prevent an open schism. Nevertheless, the measures he took to reconcile the jarring parties, and to maintain a spirit of union in the order, were not attended with that degree of success which he expected from them; nor were they sufficient to hinder the less austere part of the Franciscans from soliciting and obtaining, in the year 1247, from ALEXANDER IV, a solemn renewal of the mild interpretation which INNOCENT IV had given of the rule of their founder [p]. On the other hand, the faction that adhered to the sentiments of JOHN of *Parma* maintained their cause with such success, that, in an assembly of the order, held in the year 1260, the explication of INNOCENT was abrogated and annulled, especially in those points wherein it differed from that which had been formerly given by GREGORY IX [q].

[m] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor*, tom. iv. p. 128. & tom. iii. p. 171.

[n] Id. *ibid.* tom. iii. p. 171.

[o] Id. *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 4.

[p] This edict of ALEXANDER IV is published by WADDINGIUS, *Annal. Min.* tom. iv. p. 446. among the *Records*.

[q] The interpretation of GREGORY mitigated the rule of St.

XXXIII. This

XXXIII. This dispute concerning the true sense of the rule of St. FRANCIS was followed by another of equal moment, which produced new and unhappy divisions among the monks of that order. About the commencement of this century, there were handed about in *Italy* several pretended prophecies of the famous JOACHIM, abbot of *Sora* in *Calabria* [r], whom the multitude revered as a person divinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient times. The greatest part of these predictions were contained in a certain book, entitled, *The Everlasting Gospel*, and which was also commonly called, *The Book of Joachim* [s]. This JOACHIM, whe-

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Another
contest arises
among the
Franciscans,
a concerning
the Ever-
lasting Gos-
pel of the
abbot Joa-
chim.

FRANCIS; but that of INNOCENT went much farther, and seemed to destroy its fundamental principles. See WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. The lamentable divisions that reigned among the monks of this famous order, are described, in an accurate and lively manner, by BONAVENTURA himself, in a letter, which is extant in the *Annales* now cited, tom. iv. p. 58.

[r] The resemblance that there is between the words *Sora* and *Flora*, has probably led Dr. MOSHEIM here into a slight mistake. *Sora* is not in *Calabria*, but in the province of *Capua*. It must therefore have been *Flora*, that our author intended to write, as SPANHEIM, FLEURY, and the other ecclesiastical historians have done.

[s] The MERLIN of the English, the MALACHY of the Irish, and NOSTRADAMUS of the French, those pretended soothsayers, who, under the illusory, or feigned persuasion of a divine impulse, sung, in uncouth verse, the future revolutions of church and state, are just what we may suppose the JOACHIM of the Italians to have been. Many predictions of this latter were formerly handed about, and are still to be seen; nay, they have passed through various editions, and have been illustrated by the lucubrations of several commentators. It is not to be doubted, that JOACHIM was the author of various predictions; and that he, in a particular manner, foretold the reformation of the church, of which he might easily see the absolute necessity. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the predictions and writings, which were formerly attributed to him, were composed by others; and this we may affirm even of the *Everlasting Gospel*, the work, undoubtedly, of some obscure, silly, and visionary author, who thought proper to adorn his reveries with the celebrated name of JOACHIM, in order to gain them credit, and to render them more agreeable to the multitude. The title of this senseless production is taken from *Revelations* xiv. 6. and it contained three books; the first was entitled, *Liber Concordiæ veritatis*, i. e. *The Book of the Harmony of Truth*; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*, or *New Revelations*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*, i. e. *The Ten stringed Harp*. This account was taken from a manuscript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by JAC. ECHARD, who has published it in his *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.

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ther a real or fictitious person we shall not pretend to determine, among many other future events, foretold the destruction of the church of *Rome*, whose corruptions he censured with the greatest severity, and the promulgation of a new and *more perfect* gospel in the age of the *Holy Ghost*, by a set of poor and austere ministers, whom God was to raise up, and employ for that purpose. For he divided the world into *three ages*, relative to the three dispensations of religion that were to succeed each other in it. The two *imperfect ages*, to wit, the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the *Father*, and the age of the New, which was under the administration of the *Son*, were, according to the predictions of this fanatic, now past, and the third age, even that of the *Holy Ghost*, was at hand. The *Spiritual*, i. e. the austere, Franciscans, who were, for the most part, well-meaning, but wrong-headed enthusiasts, not only swallowed down, with the most voracious and implicit credulity, the prophecies and doctrines that were attributed to JOACHIM, but applied these predictions to themselves, and to the rule of discipline established by their holy founder, St. FRANCIS [t]; for they maintained, that he delivered to mankind the *true gospel*, and that he was the angel whom St. JOHN saw flying in the midst of heaven [u].

Gerhard's
book con-
demned,

XXXIV. At the very time that the intestine divisions among the Franciscans were at the greatest height, one of the *Spiritual* friars, whose name was GERHARD, undertook the explication of the *Everlasting Gospel* attributed to JOACHIM, in a book which appeared in the year 1250, under the title of *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel* [w]. In this book, the fanatical monk, among

[t] This is acknowledged even by WADDING, notwithstanding his partiality in favour of the *spiritual* or austere Franciscans. See his *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 3—6.

[u] *Revel.* xiv. 6. *And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, &c.*—See on this subject BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 221. 228. 235. 246.—ECHARDI *Scriptor. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.—*Codex Inquisit. Theolosanæ a LIMBORCHIO edit.* p. 301, 302, 305, &c.

[w] As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not sufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer

other

other enormities, as insipid as impious, inculcated the following detestable doctrine; "That St. FRANCIS,

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here some observations that may correct their mistakes. 1. They almost all confound the *Everlasting Gospel*, or *The Gospel of the Holy Ghost*, (for so was it also called, as we are told by GUILL. DE ST. AMOUR, in his book *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38.) with the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*. But these two productions must be carefully distinguished from each other. The *Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot JOACHIM, and it consisted in three books, as has been already observed. But the *Introduction* to this Gospel was the work of a certain Franciscan monk, who explained the obscure predictions of the pretended Gospel, and applied them to his order. The *Everlasting Gospel* was neither complained of by the university of Paris, nor condemned by the Roman pontiff, ALEXANDER IV; but the *Introduction* was complained of, condemned, and burnt, as appears evidently from the letters of the abovementioned pontiff, which are to be seen in BOULAY's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. The former consisted, as productions of that nature generally do, in ambiguous predictions and intricate riddles, and was consequently despised or neglected; but the latter was dangerous in many respects. 2. It is farther to be observed, that the ancient writers are not agreed concerning the author of this *Introduction*. They are unanimous in attributing it to one of the Mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. FRANCIS maintain, that the author was a Dominican; while the Dominican party affirm as obstinately, that he was a Franciscan. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the learned are of opinion, that the author of the infamous work in question was JOHN of Parma, general of the Franciscans, who is known to have been most warmly attached to the *spiritual* faction of that order, and to have maintained the sentiments of the abbot JOACHIM with an excessive zeal. See LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9. who endeavours to defend him against this accusation, though without success. (See also the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. Martii, p. 157. for JOHN of Parma, though he preferred the Gospel of St. FRANCIS to that of CHRIST, has, nevertheless, obtained a place among the saints.) The learned ECHARD is of a different opinion, and has proved, in his *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 202, 203. from the curious manuscripts yet preserved in the Sorbonne, relating to the *Everlasting Gospel*, that GERHARD, a Franciscan friar, was the author of the infamous *Introduction* to that book. This GERHARD, indeed, was the intimate friend and companion of JOHN of Parma, and not only maintained, with the greatest obstinacy, the cause of the *spiritual*, but also embraced all the sentiments that were attributed to the abbot JOACHIM, with such an ardent zeal, that he chose to remain eighteen years in prison, rather than to abandon them. See WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 4. 7. The Franciscans, who were called *observantes*, i. e. *vigilant*, from their professing a more rigid observance of the rule of their founder than was practised by the rest of their order, place GERHARD among the saints of the first rank, and impudently affirm, that he was not only endowed with the gift of prophecy, but also with the

C E N T. " who was the angel mentioned in the *Revelations* XIV. 6.
 XIII. " had promulgated to the world the true and everlasting
 PART II. " gospel of God; that the gospel of CHRIST was to be
 " abrogated in the year 1260, and to give place to this
 " new and everlasting gospel, which was to be substituted
 " in its room; and that the ministers of this great re-
 " formation were to be humble and bare-footed friars,
 " destitute of all worldly emoluments [x]." When this

power of working miracles. See WADDINGII *Annales Min.* tom. iii. p. 213, 214. It is to be observed 3dly, That whoever may have been the writer of this detestable book, the whole Mendicant order, in the judgment of the greatest part of the historians of this age, shared the guilt of its composition and publication, more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, who are supposed to have fallen upon this impious method of deluding the multitude into a high notion of their sanctity, in order thus to establish their dominion, and to extend their authority beyond all bounds. This opinion however is ill founded, notwithstanding the numbers by which it has been adopted. The Franciscans alone are chargeable with the guilt of this horrid production, as appears most evidently from the fragments of the book itself, which yet remain; but we are obliged in justice to observe farther, that this guilt does not even lie upon all the Franciscans, but only on that faction of the order, which is known under the title of the *Spiritual*. Perhaps we might go still farther, and alledge, that the charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this faction, but to such alone as placed an idle and enthusiastic confidence in the abbot JOACHIM, and gave credit to all his pretended prophecies. These observations are necessary to the true understanding of what has been said concerning the *Everlasting Gospel* by the following learned men; JO. ANDR. SCHMIDIUS, *Singular. Dissertat. Helmst.* 1700, in 4to.—USSERIUS, *De Successione Ecclesiar. Occident.* c. ix. § 20. p. 337.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292.—NATAL ALEXANDER, *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xiii.* Artic. iv. p. 78.—LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9. Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that the book under consideration is not, as the greatest part of the learned have imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the Mendicant orders, but rather a proof of the impious fanaticism and extravagance of an handful of Franciscans.

[x] See GUIL. DE ST. AMORE, *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38, 39. who observes that the book under consideration, was not indeed published before the year 1254, but that the opinions contained in it had an earlier origin, and were propagated even in the year 1200. Several of the ancient writers have given large extracts from this infamous book, see HERM. CORNERI *Chronicon*, in ECCARDI *Corpor. Histor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850.—*Chronicon Egmondanum*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 517.—RICOBALDUS apud ECCARDUM, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 1215. But there is a great difference between these extracts, which seems to have arisen from this, that some drew their citations from the *Everlasting Gospel* of JOA-

strange

strange book was published at *Paris* in the year 1254, it excited in the doctors of the church, and, indeed, in all good men, the most lively feelings of horror and indignation against the Mendicant friars, who had already incurred the displeasure of the public on other accounts. This universal ferment engaged the Roman pontiff, ALEXANDER IV, though much against his will, to order the suppression of this absurd book in the year 1255; he, however, took care to have this order executed with the greatest possible mildness, lest it should hurt the reputation of the Mendicants, and open the eyes of the superstitious multitude. But the university of *Paris* was not satisfied with these gentle and timorous proceedings; and consequently its doctors repeated without interruption their accusations and complaints, until the extravagant production, that had given such just and general offence, was publicly committed to the flames [y].

XXXV. The intestine flame of discord, that had raged among the Franciscans, and was smothered, though not extinguished, by the prudent management of BONAVENTURA, broke out anew with redoubled fury after the death of that pacific doctor. The Franciscan monks, who were fond of opulence and ease, renewed their complaints against the rule of their founder, as unreasonable and unjust, demanding what it was absolutely beyond the power of man to perform. Their complaints, however, were without effect; and their schemes were disconcerted by the Roman pontiff, NICOLAS III, who leaned to the side of the austere Franciscans, and, in the year 1279, published that famous constitution, which confirmed the rule of St. FRANCIS, and contained an accurate and elaborate explication of the maxims it recommended, and the duties it prescribed [z]. By this edict, the pontiff renewed that part of the rule, that prohibited all kinds of property among the Franciscans, every thing that bore

The famous constitution of Nicolas III, relating to the rule of St. Francis

CHIM, while others drew theirs from the *Introduction* of GERHARD, not sufficiently distinguishing the one work from the other.

[y] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 299.—JORDANI *Chronicon*, in MURATORI *Antiqq. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 998.

[z] Some affirm, that this famous *Constitution* was issued out by NICOLAS IV; but their opinion is refuted by WADDING, in his *Annal. Min.* tom. v. p. 73.

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the least resemblance of a legal possession, or a fixed domain; but he granted to them, at the same time, the use of things necessary, such as houses, books, and other conveniences of that nature, the property of which, in conformity with the appointment of INNOCENT IV, was to reside in the church of *Rome*. Nor did the provident pontiff stop here; but prohibited, under the severest penalties, all private explications of this new law, lest they should excite disputes and furnish new matter of contention; and reserved the power of interpreting it to himself alone, and to his successors in the pontificate [a].

Excites new
troubles and
exasperates
the *Spiritual*.

XXXVI. However disposed NICOLAS was to satisfy the *Spiritual*, and austere part of the Franciscan order, which was now become numerous both in *Italy* and *France*, and particularly in the province of *Narbonne*, the constitution above-mentioned was far from producing that effect. The monks of that gloomy faction that resided in *Italy*, received the papal edict with a sullen and discontented silence. Their brethren in *France*, and more especially in the southern parts of that kingdom, where the inhabitants are of a warm and sanguine complexion, testified, in an open and tumultuous manner, their disapprobation of this new constitution, and having at their head a famous Franciscan, whose name was JEAN PIERRE D'OLIVE, they excited new dissensions and troubles in the order [b]. This PIERRE D'OLIVE was a native of *Serignan* in *Languedoc*, who had acquired a shining reputation by his writings, and whose eminent sanctity and learning drew after him a great number of followers; nor is it to be denied, that there were many important truths and wise maxims in the instructions he delivered. One of the great objects, which he never lost sight of in his writings, was the corruption of the church of *Rome*,

[a] This constitution is yet extant in the *Jus Canon. Lib. vi. Decretal. Tit. xii. c. iii. p. 1028*, edit. *Bobmerianæ*, and is vulgarly called the *Constitution EXIIT*, from its beginning thus: *Exiit*, &c.

[b] In some ancient records, this ring-leader is called *Petrus Bitterrensis*, i. e. *Peter of Beziers*, because he resided for a long time in the convent of *Beziers*, where he performed the functions of a public teacher. By others, he is named *Petrus de Serignano*, from the place of his nativity. This remark is so much the more necessary, as certain authors have taken these three denominations for three distinct persons.

which

which he censured with a peculiar freedom and severity C E N T. in a work entitled, *Postilla*, or *A Commentary on the Re-* XIII. *velations*, affirming boldly, that that church was represented P A R T II. by the *whore of Babylon*, the mother of harlots, whom St. JOHN beheld *sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns* [c]. It is, however, to be observed, that this severe censor of a corrupt church was, himself, a most superstitious fanatic in several respects, having imbibed the greatest part of those monstrous opinions, which the *Spiritual* pretended to have received from the abbot JOACHIM; to which he added an impious and extravagant veneration for St. FRANCIS, whom he considered as wholly and *entirely transformed into the person of Christ* [d]. In the debate, concerning the sense of the rule of this famous chief, he seemed to adhere to neither of the contending parties; for he allowed his followers the *bare use of the necessaries of life*, and being called upon, at different times, by the authority of his superiors, to declare his sentiments upon this head, he professed his assent to the interpretation that had been given of the rule in question, by NICOLAS III. He leaned, nevertheless, to the side of those austere and *Spiritual* Franciscans, who not only opposed the introduction of property among the individuals of the order, but also maintained that the whole community, considered collectively, was likewise to be excluded from possessions of every kind. His zeal for these gloomy Franciscans was great, and he defended their cause with warmth [e]; hence he is looked upon as the chief of that faction, which disputed so often, and so vehemently, with the Roman pontiffs, in favour of the *renunciation of property*, in consequence of the institution of St. FRANCIS [f].

[c] *Revelations* xvii. 3, 4, 5.

[d] *Totum CHRISTO configuratum*. See the *Litera Magistrorum de Postilla Fratris P. Job. Oivi*, in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 213.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 51.

[e] The real sentiments of PIERRE D'OLIVE will be best discovered in the last discourse he pronounced, which is yet extant in BOULAY'S *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535. and in WADDING'S *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 378.

[f] For an account of this famous friar, see not only the common monastic historians, such as RAYNALDUS, ALEXANDER, and OUDINUS, but also the following: BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 213. and in *Vitis Pontif.*

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Continuation of these debates.

XXXVII. The credit and authority of PIERRE D'OLIVE, whom the multitude considered not only as a man of unblemished sanctity, but also as a prophet sent from above, added new force and vigour to the *Spiritual*, and encouraged them to renew the combat with redoubled fury. But the prudence of the heads of the order prevented, for some time, the pernicious effects of these violent efforts, and so over-ruled the impetuous motions of this enthusiastic faction, that a sort of equality was preserved between the contending parties. But the promotion of MATTHEW of *Aqua Sparta*, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to these prudential measures, and changed entirely the face of affairs. This new chief suffered the ancient discipline of the Franciscans to dwindle away to nothing, indulged his monks in abandoning even the very appearance of poverty, and thus drew upon him, not only the indignation and rage of the austerer part of the *Spiritual* Franciscans, but also the disapprobation of the more moderate members of that party. Hence arose various tumults and seditions, first in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and afterwards in *France*, which the new general endeavoured to suppress by imprisonment, exile, and corporal punishments; but, finding all these means ineffectual, resigned his place in the year 1289 [g]. His successor RAYMOND GOFFREDI employed his utmost efforts to appease these troubles. For this purpose he recalled the banished friars, set at liberty those that had been cast into prison, and put out of the way several of the austerer Franciscans, who had been the principal fomenters of these unhappy divisions, by sending them into *Armenia* in the character of missionaries. But the disorder was too far gone to admit of a remedy. The more moderate Franciscans, who had

Avenion. tom. ii. p. 752.—CAR. PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis Ecclesiæ Erroribus.* tom. i. p. 226.—WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 52. 108. 121. 140. 236. and more especially p. 378. where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiast.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535.—SCHELHORNII *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. ix. p. 678.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. iv. p. 91. 179. 182. The bones of PIERRE D'OLIVE were raised by the order of the Roman pontiff JOHN XXII, and burnt publicly, with his writings, in the year 1325. See RAYNALD. *ad An.* 1325. § 20.

[g] WADDING. *Annales Min.* tom. v. p. 210, 211, 235.

a relin

a relish for the sweets of property and opulence, accused the new general of a partial attachment to the *Spiritual*, whom he treated with peculiar affection and respect, and therefore employed their whole credit to get him removed from his office, which, with much difficulty, they, at length, effected under the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII. On the other hand, the more rigid part of the *Spiritual* faction renounced all fellowship, even with such of their own party as discovered a pacific and reconciling spirit; and, forming themselves into a separate body, protested publicly against the interpretation which NICOLAS III had given of the rule of St. FRANCIS. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the Franciscans carried a dismal aspect, and portended nothing else than seditions and schisms in an order, that had been so famous for its pretended disinterestedness and humility [b].

XXXVIII. In the year 1294, a certain number of Italian Franciscans, of the *Spiritual* party, addressed themselves to CELESTIN V, for a permission to form a separate order, in which they might not only profess, but also observe, in the strictest manner, that austere rule of absolute poverty, which St. FRANCIS had prescribed to his followers. The good pontiff, who, before his elevation to the head of the church, had led a solitary and austere life [i], and was fond of every thing that looked like mortification and self-denial, granted, with the utmost facility, the request of these friars, and placed at the head of the new order a monk, whose name was LIBERATUS, and who was one of the greatest *self-tormentors* of all the monastic tribe [k]. Soon after this, CELES-

[b] Id. *ibid.* tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140. and more especially p. 235, 236.

[i] This pope, whose name was PETER MEURON, had retired very young to a solitary mountain, in order to devote himself entirely to prayer and mortification. The fame of his piety brought many to see him from a principle of curiosity, several of whom renounced the world, and became the companions of his solitude. With these he formed a kind of community, in the year 1254, which was approved by URBAN IV, in 1264, and erected into a distinct order, called *The Hermits of St. Damien*. Upon MEURON's elevation to the pontificate, and his assuming the name of CELESTIN V, his order, which must not be confounded with the new *Franciscan Celestin Hermits*, took the title of *Celestins*.

[k] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324. 333.

CENT. TIN, finding himself unfit for the duties of his high and
 XIII.
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 was succeeded by BONIFACE VIII, who annulled every
 act that had been passed during the short reign of his pre-
 decessor, and suppressed, among other institutions, the
 new order, which had assumed the title of the *Celestin*
Hermits of St. Francis [1]. This disgrace was, as it were,
 the signal, which drew upon them the most furious at-
 tacks of their enemies. The worldly-minded Franci-
 scans persecuted them with the most unrelenting bitter-
 ness, accused them of various crimes, and even cast upon
 them the odious reproach of Manicheism. Hence many
 of these unhappy fanatics retired into *Achaia*, from whence
 they passed into a small island, where they imagined
 themselves secure from the rage of their adversaries, and
 at liberty to *indulge* themselves in all the austerities of
 that miserable life, which they looked upon as the per-
 fection of holiness here below. But no retreat was suf-
 ficient to screen them from the vigilance and fury of their
 cruel persecutors, who left no means unemployed to per-
 petuate their miseries. In the mean time, that branch of
 the *Spiritual* Franciscans that remained in *Italy*, con-
 tinued to observe the rigorous laws of their primitive in-
 stitution in spite of BONIFACE VIII, who used his ut-
 most efforts to conquer their obstinacy. They erected
 societies of their order first in the kingdom of *Naples*,
 afterwards in the *Milanese*, and in the marquisate of
Ancona; and, at length, spreading themselves through the
 greatest part of *Europe*, they continued in the most vio-
 lent state of war with the church of *Rome*, until the face
 of things was changed by the Reformation. In these con-
 flicts they underwent trials and sufferings of every kind,
 and multitudes of them perished in the flames, as misera-
 ble victims to the infernal fury of the *Inquisition* [m].

[1] Id. ibid. tom. vi. p. 1. -- *Bullarium Magnum Contin.* III, IV, p. 108, 109.

[m] The writers that serve generally as guides in this part of the history of the church, and whom I have been obliged to consult upon the divisions of the Franciscans, whose history, as will soon appear, is peculiarly interesting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perspicuity and exactness. This part of the Ecclesiastical History of, what is called, the *Middle Age*, has not hitherto been accurately illustrated by any writer, though it be,

XXXIX. Towards the conclusion of this century, C E N T. arose in *Italy* the enthusiastic sect of the *Fratricelli* and XIII. *Bizochi*, which, in *Germany* and *France*, received the de- P A R T II. nomination of *Beguards*. They were condemned by The Fratricelli and Beguards. BONIFACE VIII [n], and by several of his successors; and

every way, worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of Christians. Its principal merit consists herein, that it exhibits striking examples of piety and learning struggling against the power of superstition and ignorance, and against that spiritual tyranny of which they were the principal supports. Nay, these very rebellious Franciscans, though fanatical and superstitious in several respects, deserve, nevertheless, an eminent rank among those who prepared the way for the Reformation in *Europe*, and who excited in the minds of the people, a just aversion to the church of *Rome*. RAYNALDUS, BZOVIVS, SPONDANUS, in their *Annals*, EYMERICUS, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, and NATALIS ALEXANDER, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, relate the Revolutions, that happened in the Franciscan order and in the church in general during this period: but their accounts are neither so accurate, nor so ample, as the importance of the events deserved. And as it is from these authors that the protestant historians have drawn their materials, we need not be surprised at the defects with which these latter abound. WADDING, who merits the highest encomiums as a laborious and learned writer, is yet an uncertain guide, when he treats of the matters now under consideration. His attachment to one party, and his fear of the others, lay him under restraints, that prevent his declaring the truth with a noble freedom. He shades his picture with dexterity. He conceals, dissembles, excuses, acknowledges, and denies, with such a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid Franciscans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly that they had been injured by the pontiffs. He saw on the other hand, the tumults and perplexities in which these rigid Franciscans had involved the church of *Rome*, and the strokes they had levelled, with no small success, at the majesty of the pontiffs: but he has taken all imaginable pains to throw such a shade upon this part of their conduct, as conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers, who have handed down to us the history of the church in this important period, I could follow none of them as a sure or constant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they describe. I have not, however, been destitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The testimonies of ancient authors, with several manuscripts that have never yet been published, such as the *Diplomas* of the Pontiffs and Emperors, the *Acts of the Inquisition*, and other records of that kind, are the authentic sources from whence I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly represented by other historians.

[n] See TRITHEMIUS *Annal. Hist. aug.* tom. ii. p. 74. though this author is defective in several respects, and more especially in his account, the

CENT. XIII. the *inquisitors* were charged by these despotic pontiffs to persecute them until they were entirely extirpated, which commission they executed with their usual barbarity. The *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brethren*, were Franciscan monks, who separated themselves from the grand community of St. FRANCIS, with a design to observe the laws of their parent and founder in a more strict and rigorous manner than they were observed by the other Franciscans; and who, accordingly, renounced every kind of possession and property both common and personal, and begged from door to door their daily subsistence [o]. They alledged that neither CHRIST nor his apostles had any possessions either *personal*, or *in common*; and that *they* were the models, whom St. FRANCIS commanded his followers to imitate. After the example also of their austere founder they went about clothed with sordid garments, or rather with loathsome rags, declaimed against the corruption of the church of *Rome*, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops, foretold the reformation of the church, and the restoration of the true gospel of CHRIST by the *genuine* followers of St. FRANCIS,

of the origin and sentiments of the *Fratricelli*. It is also to be observed, that he confounds, through the whole of his history, the sects and orders of this century one with another, in the most ignorant and unskilful manner. See rather DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 541. where the edict published in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII. against the *Bizzocchi*, or *Beguards*, is inserted; as also JORDANI *Chronicon*, in MURATORI *Antiqq. Italiae*, tom. iv. p. 1020.

[o] The *Fratricelli* resemble the *Spiritual* in many of their maxims and observances: they however are a distinct body, and differ from them in various respects. The *Spiritual*, for instance, continued to hold communion with the rest of the Franciscans, from whom they differed in points of considerable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themselves into a particular and distinct order; the *Fratricelli*, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the Franciscans, and, withdrawing their obedience from the superiors of that society, chose for themselves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and separate order. The *Spiritual* did not absolutely oppose their order's possessing certain goods jointly, and in common, provided they renounced all property in these goods, and confined their pretensions to the mere use of them; whereas the *Fratricelli* rejected every kind of possession, whether personal or in common, and embraced that absolute poverty and want, which St. FRANCIS had prescribed in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. We omit the mention of other less important differences that might be alledged here.

and

and declared their assent to almost all the doctrines, CENT.
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PART II. which were published under the name of the abbot JOACHIM. They esteemed and respected CELESTIN V. because, as has been already observed, he was, in some measure, the founder of their society, by permitting them to erect themselves into a separate order. But they refused to acknowledge, as true and lawful heads of the church, his successor BONIFACE and the other pontiffs after him, who opposed the *Fratricelli*, and persecuted their order [p].

[p] The accounts of the *Fratricelli*, that are given by ancient and modern writers even by those that pretend to the greatest exactness are extremely confused and uncertain. TRITHEMIUS, in his *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. affirms, that they derived their origin from TANCHELINUS, and thus ignorantly confounds them with the *Catharists* and other sects that arose in those times. The Franciscans leave no means unemployed to clear themselves from all relation to this society, and to demonstrate, that such a pestilential and impious sect, as that of the *Fratricelli*, did not derive their origin from the order of St FRANCIS. In consequence of this, they deny that the *Fratricelli* professed the Franciscan rule; and maintain on the contrary, that the society, which was distinguished by this title, was a heap of rabble, composed of persons of all kinds and all religions, whom HERMAN PONGILUP, towards the conclusion of this century, gathered together at *Ferrara* in *Italy*, and erected into a distinct order. See LUC. WADDING, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 279. This author employs all his eloquence to defend his order from the infamous reproach of having given rise to that of the *Fratricelli*: But his efforts are vain; for he acknowledges, nay, even proves by unquestionable authorities, that this hated sect professed and observed, in the most rigorous manner the rule of St. FRANCIS: and, nevertheless, he denies that they were Franciscans; by which he means, and indeed can only mean, that they were not such Franciscans as those, who lived in subjection to the general of the order, and adopted the interpretation which the pontiffs had given of the rule of their founder. All WADDING's boasted demonstration, therefore, comes to no more than this, that the *Fratricelli* were Franciscans, who separated themselves from the grand order of St. FRANCIS, and rejected the authority of the general of that order, and the laws and interpretations, together with the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs; and this no mortal ever took it into his head to deny. HERMANNUS, or, as he is called by many, ARMANNUS PONGILUP, whom WADDING and others consider as the parent of the *Fratricelli*, lived in this century, at *Ferrara*, in the highest reputation on account of his extraordinary piety; and when he died in the year 1269, was interred with the greatest magnificence and pomp in the principal church of that city. His memory was, for a long time, honoured with a degree of veneration equal to that which is paid to the most illustrious saints; and it was supposed that the Supreme Being bore testimony to his eminent

CENT. XL. As the Franciscan order acknowledged, as its
 XIII. companions and associates, a sect of men who observed
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 Bocafoti,
 and Be-
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sanctity by various miracles. But as PONGILUP had been suspected of heresy by the *Inquisitors**, on account of the peculiar austerity of his life, which resembled that of the *Catbarists*, they made, even after his death, such an exact and scrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that, many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was detected and published to the world. Hence it was, that, in the year 1300, his tomb was destroyed, his bones dug up, and burned by the order of BONIFACE VIII. and the multitude effectually cured of the enthusiastic veneration they had for his memory. The judicial acts of this remarkable event are recorded by MURATORI, in his *Antiquit. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 93.—147. and it appears evidently from them, that those learned men, who consider PONGILUP as the founder of the order of the *Fratricelli*, are entirely mistaken. So far was he from being the founder of this sect, that he was dead before it was in being. The truth of the matter is, that this famous enthusiast was a *Catbarist*, infected with *Paulician* or *Manichean* principles, and that he was a member of the sect entitled *Bagnolists*, from a town of that name in *Provence*, where they resided. Some modern writers, indeed, have seen so far into the truth, as to perceive that the *Fratricelli* were a separate branch of the rigid and austere Franciscans; but they err in this, that they consider them as the same sect with the *Beguards* or *Beguins*, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by LIMBORCH, in his *Hist. Inquisit.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 69. who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under consideration, by BALUZIUS, in his *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195, & *Vit. Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 509. by BEAUSOBRE, in his *Dissertation concerning the Adamites*, subjoined to the *History of the Wars of the Hussites*, p. 380. and by WADDING, in his *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 376. But notwithstanding the authorities of these learned men, it is certain, as we shall shew in its place, that there was a real difference between the *Fratricelli* and the *Beguards*, not indeed with respect to their opinions, but in their rule of discipline and their manner of life.

The principal cause of the errors, that have obscured the *History of the Fratricelli*, is the ambiguity that there is in the denomination of their order. *Fratricellus*, *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, was an Italian nick-name, or term of derision, that was applied in this century to all those, who, without belonging to any of the religious orders, affected a monkish air in their cloathing, their carriage, and their manner of living, and assumed a sanctimonious aspect of piety and devotion. See VILLANI *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423,—IMOLA in *Dantem*, p. 1121. in MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. And as there were many vagabonds of this kind, that wandered about from place to place during this century, it happened, that this general term of *Fratricelli* was applied to them all, though they differed much from one another both in their opinions and in their methods of living. Thus the *Catbarists*, the *Waldenses*, the *Apostles*, and many other sects, who had invented

* These formidable censors were entitled, *Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity*.

the *third rule*, that was prescribed by St. FRANCIS, and

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new opinions in religion, were marked with this denomination by the multitude; while the writers of foreign nations, unacquainted with this ludicrous application of the word, were puzzled in their inquiries after the sect of the *Fratricelli*, who had given so much trouble to the Roman pontiffs, nay, were led into the grossest mistakes, and imagined at one time, that this order was that of the *Catharists*, at another, that it was the sect of the *Waldenses*, &c. But, in order to have distinct ideas of this matter, it must be considered, that the word *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, bore a quite different sense from the ludicrous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the austere part of the Franciscans, who maintained the necessity of observing, in the strictest manner, the rule of their founder. Instead of being a nickname, or a term of derision when applied to them, it was an honourable denomination, in which they delighted, and which they preferred infinitely before all other titles. *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brothers*, is a word of the same signification with *Friars-minors*; and every one knows, that this latter appellation was adopted by the Franciscans, as an expression of their extraordinary humility and modesty. In assuming this title, therefore, these monks did not, properly speaking, assume a new name, but only translated the ancient name of their order into the Italian language; for what the Latins called *Fratres Minores*, i. e. *Friars-minors*, that the Italians called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs we might draw from the best authors in favour of this account of the matter, we shall only alledge one, from the *Life of Thomas Aquinas*, by GUILIELMUS DE THOCO in *Actis Sanctor. Martii*, tom. i. cap. ii. § xxi. *Destruxit* (says that biographer) *et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem St. Thomas . . . cujus sectatores simul et inventores SE NOMINANT FRATERCULOS DE VITA PAUPERE, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sopsifico nomine simplicium corda seducant . . . Contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII mirandam edidit Decretalem.*

Now this very *Decretal* of JOHN XXII against the *Fratricelli*, which THOCO calls *Admirable*, is, to mention no other testimonies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this *Decretal*, which is to be seen in the *Extravagantia Joh. XXII. Corporis Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112. edit. *Bæbmerianæ*, the pontiff expresses himself thus: *Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi sive Beguini nuncupantur in partibus Italiæ, in insula Siciliæ . . . publice mendicare solent.* The pontiff afterwards divides the *Fratricelli*, into *Monks* and *Tertiaries*, or (which amounts to the same thing, as we shall shew in its place) into *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*. With respect to the *Fratricelli*, properly so called, he expresses himself thus: *Plurimi regulam seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum . . . Se profiteri ad litteram conservare confingunt, prætendentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cœlestino Papa Quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status, seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, etsi ostenderent, non valeret, cum Bonifacius Papa Octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cœlestino concessa . . . viribus penitus evacuarerit.* Here the pontiff describes clearly those *Fratricelli*, who, separating themselves from the Franciscans with a view to observe more strictly the rule of

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were from thence commonly called *Tertiaries* [q]; so likewise the order of the *Fratricelli*, who were desirous of being considered as the only genuine followers of St. FRANCIS, had a great number of *Tertiaries* attached to their cause. These *Tertiaries*, or half-monks, were called, in *Italy*, *Bizochi* and *Bocasoti*: in *France*, *Beguins*, and in *Germany*, *Beguards*, or *Beghards*, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost all places [r]. They differed from the *Fratri-*

St. FRANCIS, were erected into a distinct order by pope CELESTIN V. And in the following passage he characterises, with the same perspicuity, the *Bizochi* or *Beguins*, who entitled themselves of *The third order of the penitents of St. Francis*: *Nonnulli ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci pœnitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.*

[q] Besides two very austere rules drawn up by St. FRANCIS, the one for the *Friars-minors*, and the other for the *Poor Sisters*, called *Clarisses*, from St. CLARA their founder, this famous chief drew up a *third*, whose demands were less rigorous, for such, as, without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions, were, nevertheless, disposed to enter, with certain restrictions, into the Franciscan order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges that were annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer, mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. All the Franciscan historians have given accounts of this *third rule*, more especially WADDING. *Annal. Min.* tom. ii. p. 7.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 214. They, that professed this third rule, were called *Friars of the penance of Christ*, and sometimes also, on account of the meanness of their garments, *Brethren of the sack*, but they were more generally known by the denomination of *Tertiaries*. The greatest part of the religious orders in the church of *Rome*, imitated this institution of St. FRANCIS, as soon as they perceived the various advantages, that were deducible from it. And hence, at this day, these orders continue to have their *Tertiaries*.

[r] The *Tertiaries*, that were connected with the order of the *Fratricelli*, arose about the year 1296, in the marquise of *Ancona* and the neighbouring countries, and were called *Bizochi*, as we learn from the edict issued out against them, in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII, and published by Du BOULAY, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. They are mentioned under the same title by JOHN XXII, in the bull already cited. Add to all these authorities, that of the learned DU FRESNE, who, in his *Glossar. Latinit. medicæ*, tom. i. p. 1188. observes, that this denomination is derived from *Bizochus*, which signifies in French *une Besace*, i. e. a sack, or wallet, such as beggars in general, and these holy beggars in particular, were used to carry about with them. The term *Bocasotus*; or *celli*,

celli, not in their opinions and doctrine, but only in their manner of living. The *Fratricelli* were real monks,

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Vocatus, as DU BOULAY writes it (in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 510.) has no doubt the same origin, and bears the same signification. It is used by JORDAN, in his *Chronicle*, from whence we shall cite a remarkable passage in the following note. The denominations of *Begbards* and *Beguins*, that were given to the *Tertiaries* in France and in Italy, are very frequently to be met with in the Ecclesiastical History of the Middle Age. The accounts, however, which both ancient and modern writers generally give of these famous names, are so uncertain, and so different from each other, that we need not be surprised to find the history of the *Begbards* and *Beguins* involved in greater perplexity and darkness, than any other part of the Ecclesiastical Annals of the Age now mentioned. It is therefore my present design to remove this perplexity, and to dispel this darkness, as far as that can be done in the short space to which I am confined, and to disclose the true origin of these famous denominations.

The words *Begbard* or *Beggebard*, *Begutta*, *Begbinus*, and *Beghina*, which only differ in their termination, have all one and the same sense. The German and Belgic nations wrote *Begbard* and *Begutte*, which terminations are extremely common in the language of the ancient Germans. But the French substituted the Latin termination in place of the German, and changed *Begbard* into *Begbinus* and *Beghina*; so that those, who in Holland and Germany were called *Begbard* and *Begutte*, were denominated in France *Beghini* and *Beghinæ*. Nay, even in Germany and Holland, the Latin termination was gradually introduced instead of the German, particularly in the feminine term *Begutta*, of which change we might alledge several probable reasons, were this the proper place for disquisitions of that nature. There are many different opinions concerning the origin and signification of these terms, which it would be too tedious to mention, and still more so to refute. Besides, I have done this in a large work, now almost finished, concerning the *Begbards* and *Beghines*, wherein I have traced out with the utmost pains and labour, in Records, the greatest part of which have never seen the light, the history of all the different sects to whom these names have been given, and have at the same time detected the errors, into which many learned men have fallen in treating this part of the history of the church†. At present, therefore, setting aside many opinions and conjectures, I shall confine myself to a brief inquiry into the true origin and signification of these words. They are undoubtedly derived from the old German word *beggen*, *beggeren*, which signifies to *seek any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestness*. In joining to this word the syllable *bard*, which is the termination of many German words, we have the term *Beggebard*, which is applicable to a person who asks any thing with ardor and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this

† The work here hinted at has not yet appeared; though we hope that those who are entrusted with the papers of the learned author, will prevent such a valuable production being lost to the republic of letters.

C E N T. subjected to the rule of St. FRANCIS ; while the *Bizochi*,
 XIII. or *Beguins*, if we except their sordid habit, and certain
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manner as common beggars, who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called *Begbard*, from which the English word *beggar* is manifestly derived. *Begutta* signifies a female beggar.—When Christianity was introduced into Germany, the word *beggen*, or *beggeren*, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly we find in the Gothick translation of the Four Gospels attributed to ULPILAS, the word *beggen* employed to express the duty of *earnest and fervent prayer*. Hence, when any person distinguished himself from others by the frequency and fervor of his devotional services, he was called a *Begbard*, i. e. a *devout man*; and the denomination of *Begutta* was given, in the same sense, to women of uncommon piety. And as they, who distinguished themselves from others by the frequency of their prayers, assumed by that means a more striking air of external devotion than the rest of their fellow-christians; hence it came to pass, that all those who were ambitious of appearing more religious and devout than their neighbours, were called *Begbardi*, or *Begutta*.

The observations we have hitherto made, with respect to the origin and signification of the words in question, will serve as a clue to deliver the attentive reader from that labyrinth of difficulties in which the history of the *Begbards* and *Beguines* has been involved. They will also enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of *Begbards* and *Beguines* that sprung up in Europe in the thirteenth century; and will shew him how it happened, that these denominations were given to above thirty sects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, their discipline, and manner of living. The first and original signification of the word *Begbard* (or *Beggert*, as it was pronounced by the common people) was *importunate beggar*. Therefore, when the people saw certain persons, not only embracing with resignation, but also with the most voluntary choice, and under a pretext of devotion, the horrors of absolute poverty, begging their daily bread from door to door, and renouncing all their worldly possessions and occupations, they called all such persons *Begbards*, or, if they were women, *Begburts*, without ever once considering the variety of opinions and maxims by which they were distinguished. The sect called *Apostles*, the rigid Franciscans, the *Brethren of the free spirit*, (of whom hereafter), all embraced this sordid state of beggary; and though among these orders there was not only the widest difference, but even the greatest opposition, the Germans called them indiscriminately *Begbards*, from the miserable state which they had all embraced. Nor is this to be wondered at; the character, which they possessed in common, was striking; while the sentiments and maxims that divided them escaped the observation of the multitude.

But the word *Begbard* acquired a second and a new signification in this century, being employed, as we have already observed, to signify a person who *prayed* with uncommon frequency, and who *distinguished himself from those about him by an extraordinary appearance*
 appearances

observances and maxims, which they followed in con-
sequence of the injunctions of the famous saint now
mentioned, lived after the manner of other men, and
were therefore considered in no other light, than as
seculars and *laymen* [s]. It is, however, to be observed,

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of piety. The force of this term, in its new signification, is the same with that of the word *Methodist*, which is at present the denomination of a certain sort of fanatics in these kingdoms. Such therefore as departed from the manner of living that was usual among their fellow citizens, and distinguished themselves by the gravity of their aspect, and the austerity of their manners, were comprehended under the general denomination of *Beghards* and *Beguites* in Germany, and of *Beguins* and *Beguines* in France. The use of these terms was, at first, so extensive, that, as we could shew by many examples, they were applied even to the monks themselves; but, in process of time, they were applied with less extent, and were confined to those who formed a sort of an intermediate order between the *monks* and *citizens*, and who resembled the former in their manner of living, without assuming their name, or contracting their obligations. The *Tertiaries* therefore, or half monks of the Dominican, Franciscan, and, in general, of all the religious orders, were called *Beghards*; for though, as *lay-citizens*, they belonged to the body politic, yet they distinguished themselves by their monkish dispositions, and their profession of extraordinary piety and sanctity of manners. The *Fraternity of weavers*, the *Brethren of St. ALEXIUS*, the *Followers of GERHARD the Great*, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of sanctity and devotion, were called *Beghards*, although they procured themselves the necessaries of life by honest industry, without having recourse to the sordid trade of begging.

The denominations therefore of *Beghards*, *Beguites*, *Beguins*, and *Beguines*, are rather honourable than otherwise, when we consider their origin; and they are mentioned as such, in several records and deeds of this century, whose authority is most respectable, particularly in the Testament of St. LEWIS, king of France. But, in process of time, these terms lost gradually, as the case often happens, their primitive signification, and became marks of infamy and derision. For, among these religious *beggars* and these sanctimonious pretenders to extraordinary piety, there were many, whose piety was nothing more than the most senseless superstition; many also, whose austere devotion was accompanied with opinions of a corrupt nature, and entirely opposite to the doctrine of the church, and (what was still more horrible) many artful hypocrites, who, under the mask of religion, concealed the most abominable principles, and committed the most enormous crimes. These were the fools and knaves who brought the denomination of *Beghards* into disrepute, and rendered it both ridiculous and infamous; so that it was only employed to signify idiots, heretics, or hypocrites. The denomination of *Lolbards*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more amply hereafter, met with the same fate, and was rendered contemptible by the persons who masked their iniquity under that specious title.

[s] See the *Acta Inquis. Tolos.* published by LIMBORCH, p. 298. 302.

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that the *Bizocchi* were divided into two classes, which derived their different denominations of *perfect* and *imperfect*, from the different degrees of austerity that they discovered in their manner of living. The *perfect* lived upon alms, abstained from wedlock, and had no fixed habitations. The *imperfect*, on the contrary, had their houses, wives, and possessions, and were engaged, like the rest of their fellow-citizens, in the various affairs of life [t].

A great difference between the Franciscan Beguines and those of Germany and the Netherlands.

XLI. We must not confound these *Beguins* and *Beguines*, who derived their origin from an austere branch of the Franciscan order, with the German and Belgic *Beguines*, who crept out of their obscurity in this century, and multiplied prodigiously in a very short space of time [u]. Their origin was of earlier date than this

310. 313. and particularly 307. 329. 382. 389, &c. Among the various passages of ancient writers, which tend to illustrate the history of the *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*, I shall quote only one, which is to be found in JORDAN'S *Chronicon*, published by MURATORI, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020. and confirms almost every thing we have said upon that head: *Anno 1294, Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Foresemprone Apostata fuerunt ordinis Minorum et bæretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut Regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures Apostata adbaserunt, qui statum communitatis damnabant et declarationes Regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci* (he ought to have said *Fratricellos*) *Sæculares; (i. e. the Tertiaries, who were the friends and associates of the Fratricelli, without quitting, however, their secular state, or entering into the monastic order), Sæculares autem vocarunt Bizocios, aut Fratricellos vel Bocafotos* (here JORDAN is mistaken in affirming, that the *Sæculares* were called *Fratricelli*; for this latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. FRANCIS, and not to the *Tertiaries*. The other circumstances of this account are exact, and shew that the more austere professors of the Franciscan rule were divided into two classes, viz. into *friars* and *seculars*, and that the latter were called *Bizocchi*). *Iti dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex Regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod Angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus auctoritatem . . . Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia, &c.*

[t] This division is mentioned, or supposed by several authors, and more especially in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*, p. 303. 310. 312, 313. 319, &c.

[u] In the last century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands concerning the origin of the *Begbards* and *Beguines*, of which I have given an ample account in a work not yet published. In the course of this controversy, the *Beguines* produced the most authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, from which it appeared, that, so early as the eleventh and twelfth century, there had been several societies of *Beguines* established

century,

century, but it was only now that they acquired a name, and made a noise in the world. Their primitive establishment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, and preserve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themselves into societies, each of which had a fixed place of residence, and was under the inspection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of honest industry, reserving to themselves the liberty of entering into the state of matrimony, as also of quitting the convent, whenever they thought proper. And as all those among the female sex, who made extraordinary professions of piety and devotion, were distinguished by the title of *Beguines*, i. e. persons who were uncommonly *assiduous in prayer*, that title was given to the women of whom we are now speaking [w]. The first society of this kind,

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in *Holland* and *Flanders*. It is true, they had no more than three of these authentic acts to offer as a proof of their antiquity; the first was drawn up in the year 1065, the second in the year 1129, the third in 1151; and they were all three drawn up, at *Vilvorden*, by the *Beguines*, who, at that time, were settled there. See AUB. MIRÆI *Opera Diplomatico-historica*, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948. and tom. iii. p. 628. edit. nov.—ERYCIUS PUTEANUS, *De Begbinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio*. This treatise of PUTEANUS is to be found with another of the same author, and upon the same subject, in a work entitled, JOSEPHI GELDOLPHI A RYCKEL *Vita S. Veggæ cum Adnotationibus*, p. 65—227. Duaci 1631, in 4to. Now, though we grant that those writers are mistaken, who place the first rise of the *Beguines* in the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the small number of authentic records, which they have to produce in favour of their antiquity, is an incontestable proof of the obscurity, in which they lay concealed, before the time in which these writers place their origin, and may render it almost probable, that the only convent of *Beguines*, that existed before the thirteenth century, was that of *Vilvorden* in *Brabant*.

[w] All the *Begbards* and *Beguines* that yet remain in *Flanders* and *Holland*, where their convents have almost entirely changed their ancient and primitive form, assent unanimously, that both their name and institution derive their origin from St. BEGGHE, dutchess of *Brabant*, and daughter of PERIN, mayor of the palace to the king of *Aust-asia*, who lived in the seventh century. This lady, therefore, they consider as their patroness, and honour her as a kind of tutelary divinity with the deepest sentiments of veneration and respect. See JOS. GELD. A RYCKEL in *vita S. Beggæ cum Adnotat.* Duaci et

C E N T. that we read of, was formed at *Nivelle* in *Brabant*, in the year 1226 [x]; and was followed by so many institutions of a like nature in *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, that, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, there was scarcely a city of any note, that had not its *beguinage*, or *vineyard*, as it was sometimes called in conformity to the style of the *Song of Songs* [y]. All these female societies were not governed by the same laws: but, in the greatest part of them, the hours, that were not devoted to prayer, meditation, or other religious exercises, were employed in weaving, embroidering, and other manual labours of various kinds. The poor, sick, and disabled *Beguines* were supported by the pious liberality of such opulent persons as were friends to the order.

Beghards or Lollards. XLII. This female institution was soon imitated in *Flanders* by the other sex; and considerable numbers of unmarried men, both bachelors and widowers, formed themselves into communities of the same kind with those of the *Beguines*, under the inspection and government of a certain chief, and with the same religious views and purposes; still, however, reserving to themselves the liberty of returning to their former method of life [z]. These pious persons were, in the style of this age, called

Lowanii edita; a work of great bulk and little merit. and full of the most silly and insipid fables.—Those who are no well wishers to the cause of the *Beguines* adopt a quite different account of their origin, which they deduce from LAMBERT LE BEGUE, a priest and native of *Liege*, who lived in the twelfth century, and was much esteemed on account of his eminent piety. The learned PETER COENS, canon of *Antwerp*, has defended this opinion with more erudition than any other writer, in his *Disquisitio Historica de Origine Begbinarum et Begbinagiorum in Belgio*, Leod. 1672, in 12mo.

[x] Other historians say, in the year 1207.

[y] See MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, ad An. 1243 & 1250, p. 540. 696.—THOMAS CANTIPRATENSIS in *Bene Universali de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. li. p. 478. edit. Colvenerii.—PETRUS DE HERENTHAL, in his *Annals*, from which, though they are not yet published, we have a very remarkable passage cited by JOS. GELD. A RYCKEL, in his *Observationes ad Vitam S. Beggæ*, § cxcvi. p. 355. The origin and charters of the convents of *Beguines*, that were founded during this and the following century in *Holland* and *Flanders*, are treated in an ample manner by AUB. MIRÆUS, in his *Opera Historico-diplomatica*, JOHN BAPT. GRAMMAYE, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*, ANTON. SANDERS, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*, and by the other writers of *Belgic* history.

[z] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, ad An. 1253, p. 539, 540.

Beghards,

Beghards, and by a corruption of that term usual among the Flemish and Dutch, *Bogards*; from others they received the denomination of *Lollards*; in France they were distinguished at first by that of *Bons Valets*, or *Bons Garçons*, and afterwards by that of *Beguins*: they were also called the *Fraternity of weavers*, from the trade, which the greatest part of them exercised. The first society of the *Beghards* seems to have been that which was established at *Antwerp* in the year 1228, and continues still in a flourishing state; though the brethren, of whom it is composed, have long since departed from their primitive rule of discipline and manners. This first establishment of the *Beghards* was followed by many more in *Germany*, *France*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*; though, after all their success, their congregations were less numerous than those of the *Beguines* [a]. It is worthy of observation that the Roman pontiffs never honoured the societies of the *Beghards* and *Beguines* with their solemn or explicit approbation, nor confirmed their establishments by the seal of their authority. They, however, granted them a full toleration, and even defended them often against the stratagems and violence of their enemies, who were many in number. This appears by the edicts in favour of the *Beghards*, which the pontiffs granted in compliance with the earnest solicitations of many illustrious personages, who wished well to that society. It did not however, continue always in a flourishing state. The greatest part of the convents, both of the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, are now either demolished, or converted to other uses. In *Flanders*, indeed, a considerable number of the latter still subsist, but few of the former are to be found any where.

XLIII. After the accounts hitherto given of the rulers of the church, and of the monastic and other religious

[a] See RYCKELII *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 635.—ANT. SANDERII *Flandria Illustrata*, lib. c. xvi. p. 136.—JO. BAPT. GRAMMAYEI *Antiquit. Fland. & in Gandavo*, p. 22.—AUB. MIRÆI *Opera Diplom. Hist.* tom. iii. c. clxviii. p. 145.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 248. who is, nevertheless, chargeable with many errors.—GERHARDUS ANTONINUS, *Pater Minister* (so the head of the order is called in our times) *Beghardorum Antwerpiensium in Epistola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum origine et fatis*, in RYCKELII *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 489. This author, indeed, from a spirit of partiality to his order, conceals the truth designedly in various places.

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orders that were instituted, or became famous during this century, it will not be improper to conclude this chapter by mentioning briefly the Greek and Latin writers, who, during the same period, acquired a name by their learned productions. The most eminent among the Greeks were,

NICETAS ACOMINATUS, who composed a work entitled, *The History and Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*;

GERMANUS, the Grecian patriarch, of whom we have yet extant, among other productions of less note, *A Book against the Latins*, and *An Exposition of the Greek Liturgy*;

THEODORUS LASCARIS, who left behind him several treatises upon various subjects of a religious nature, and who also entered the lists against the Latins, which was the reigning passion among such of the Greeks, as were endowed with any tolerable parts, and were desirous of shewing their zeal for the honour of their nation;

NICEPHORUS BLEMIDA, who employed his talents in the salutary work of healing the divisions between the Greeks and Latins;

ARSENIUS, whose *Synopsis of the Canon Law of the Greeks*, is far from being contemptible;

GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA, who acquired a high degree of renown, not only by his historical writings, but also by the transactions and negotiations in which he was employed by the emperor MICHAEL;

JOHANNES BECCUS or VECCUS, who involved himself in much trouble, and made himself many enemies, by defending the cause of the Latins against his own nation with too much zeal;

GEORGE METOCHITA, and CONSTANTINE MELITENIOTA, who employed without success, their most earnest efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

GEORGE PACHYMERES, who acquired a name by his commentary upon DIONYSIUS, the pretended chief of the mystics, and by a history which he composed of his own time; and

GEORGE the Cyprian, whose hatred of the Latins, and warm opposition to VECCUS above-mentioned, rendered

rendered him more famous than all his other productions [b].

XLIV. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century renders it impossible for us to mention them all; we shall therefore confine our account to those among them, who were the most eminent, and whose theological writings demand most frequently our notice in the course of this history. Such are,

JOACHIM, abbot of *Flora* in *Calabria*, who, though esteemed on account of his piety and knowledge, was, nevertheless, a man of mean parts and of a weak judgment, full of enthusiastic and visionary notions, and therefore considered, during his life and after his death, by the miserable and blinded multitude, as a prophet sent from above. The pretended prophecies of this silly fanatic are abundantly known, and have been frequently published [c];

STEPHEN LANGTON, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who wrote commentaries upon the greatest part of the books of scripture [d];

FRANCIS, the founder of the famous society of *Friars-minors*, or *Franciscans*, whose writings were designed to touch the heart, and excite pious and devout sentiments, but discover little genius, and less judgment.

ALAN DE L'ISLE, a logician, who made no mean figure among that disputatious tribe, who applied himself also to the study of chemistry, and published several moral discourses, in which there are many wise and useful exhortations and precepts [e];

[b] For a more ample account of all these writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[c] The life of JOACHIM was written in Italian by GREGORY DE LAURO, and published in 4to at *Naples* in the year 1660. The first edition of his prophecies was printed at *Venice*, in the year 1517, and was followed by several new editions, to satisfy the curiosity of the populace, great and small.

[d] LANGTON was a learned and polite author for the age he lived in. It is to him we are indebted for the division of the Bible into chapters. He wrote *Commentaries* upon all the *Books of the Old Testament*, and upon *St. Paul's Epistles*.

[e] Several of the name of ALAN lived in this century, who have been strangely confounded both by ancient and modern writers. See JAQ. LE BOEUF, *Mémoires sur l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, tom. i, p. 300. & *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Civil, et Eccles. de Paris*, tom. ii, p. 293.

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JACOBUS DE VITRIACO, who acquired a name by his *Oriental History*; and JACOBUS DE VORAGINE, whose *History of the Lombards* [f] was received with applause.

The writers of this century, who obtained the greatest renown on account of their laborious researches in, what was called, philosophical or dialectical theology, were, ALBERTUS MAGNUS, THOMAS AQUINAS, and BONAVENTURA, who were, each of them, truly possessed of an inquisitive turn of mind, a sublime and penetrating genius, accompanied with an uncommon talent of founding the most hidden truths, and treating with facility the most abstruse subjects, though they are all chargeable with errors and reveries that do little honour to their memories [g]. The other writers, who trod the same intricate paths of metaphysical divinity, were many in number, and several of them justly admired, though much inferior in renown to the celebrated triumvirate now mentioned; such were ALEXANDER DE HALES, the interpreter of ARISTOTLE, WILLIAM of Paris [h], ROBERT CAPITO [i], THOMAS CANTIPRATENSIS, JOHN DE PECKHAM, WILLIAM DURAND, ROGER BACON [k], RICHARD MIDDLETON, ÆGIDIUS DE COLUMNA, ARMAND DE BELLO VISU, and several others.

[f] JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Domin.* tom. i. p. 454 — BOLLANDI *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. p. 9.

[g] For an account of ALBERT, see ECHARD. *Script. Dom.* tom. i. p. 162. — For an account of THOMAS AQUINAS, who was called the *Angel of the scholastics* among other splendid titles, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Martii, p. 655. & ANT. TURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*, Paris, 1737, in 4to. — We have also a circumstantial relation of whatever concerns the life, writings, and exploits of BONAVENTURA, the tutelary saint of the *Lionnois* in France, in the two following books, viz. COLONIA, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 307. and the *Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de S. Bonaventure*, par un Religieux Cordelier, à Lyon, 1747, in 8vo.

[h] See the *Gallia Christiana*, published by the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95.

[i] The learned ANTHONY WOOD has given an ample account of ROBERT CAPITO, in his *Antiquitat. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 81. 105.

[k] We are surprised to find ROGER BACON thrust here into a crowd of vulgar *literati*, since that great man, whose astonishing genius and universal learning have already been taken notice of, was, in every respect, superior to ALBERT and BONAVENTURA, two of the heroes of Dr. MOSHEIM's triumvirate.

HUGO

HUGO DE ST. CARO gained much applause by the *Concordance*, which he composed, of the *Holy Bible* [l].

GUILLAUME DE St. AMOUR, carried on with great spirit and resolution, but with little success, a literary and theological war against the Mendicant friars, who looked upon begging as a mark of sanctity.

HUMBERT DE ROMANIS drew up a system of rules and precepts, with a view to put under a better regulation the lives and manners of the monastic orders.

GUILIELMUS PERALDUS arose in this century to the highest degree of literary renown, in consequence of a system of morals he published under the title of *Summa Virtutum et Vitiorum* [m].

RAIMOND MARTIN yet survives the oblivion that has covered many of his cotemporaries; and his *Pugio Fidei*, or *Sword of Faith*, which he drew against the Jews and Saracens, has escaped the ruins of time.

JOHN of PARIS deserves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and justice; since he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majesty of kings and princes, against the ambitious stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and declared openly his opposition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the presence of CHRIST in that holy ordinance [n].

[l] HUGO DE ST. CARO, or *St. Cher*, composed also a very learned collection of the various readings of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuscripts of the Bible. This work, which he entitled *Correktorium Bibliæ*, is preserved in manuscript in the Sorbonne library. We must not forget to observe also, that his *Concordance* is the first that ever was compiled.

[m] See COLONIA, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 322.

[n] We may learn his opinion concerning the eucharist from his treatise, entitled, *Determinatio de S. Cæna*, and published in 8vo at London, by the learned Dr. ALIX, in the year 1686.—See also ECHARDI *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 501.—BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 457, 577.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian Church during this century.

C E N T. I. **H**OWEVER numerous and deplorable the cor-
 XIII. ruptions and superstitious abuses were, that had
 P A R T II. hitherto reigned in the church, and deformed the beau-
 The general tiful simplicity of the gospel, they were nevertheless in-
 state of re- creased in this century, instead of being reformed, and
 ligion. the religion of CHRIST continued to suffer under the
 growing tyranny of fanaticism and superstition. The
 progress of reason and truth was retarded among the
 Greeks and Orientals, by their immoderate aversion to the
 Latins, their blind admiration of whatever bore the stamp
 of antiquity, the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity
 of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among
 the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment
 the darkness of that cloud that had already been cast over
 the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. On the one
 hand, the Roman pontiffs could not bear the thoughts of
 any thing that might have the remotest tendency to di-
 minish their authority, or to encroach upon their pre-
 rogatives; and therefore they laboured assiduously to keep
 the multitude in the dark, and to blast every attempt that
 was made towards a reformation in the doctrine or dis-
 cipline of the church. On the other hand, the school-
 divines, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan
 monks made the greatest figure on account of their un-
 intelligible jargon and subtilty, shed perplexity and dark-
 ness over the plain truths of religion by their intricate
 distinctions, and endless divisions, and by that cavilling,
 quibbling, disputatious spirit, that is the mortal enemy
 both of truth and virtue. It is true, that these scholastic
 doctors were not all equally chargeable with corrupting
 the truth; the most enormous and criminal corrupters of
 Christianity were those who led the multitude into the
 two following abominable errors: that it was in the
 power of man to perform, if he pleased, a more perfect
 obedience than God required; and that the whole of re-
 ligion consisted in an external air of gravity, and in cer-
 tain composed bodily gestures.

II. It

II. It will be easy to confirm this general account of C E N T. the state of religion by particular facts. In the fourth XIII. council of the Lateran that was held by INNOCENT III, P A R T II. in the year 1215, and at which a prodigious number of New articles of faith imposed by Innocent III. ecclesiastics were assembled [*o*], that imperious pontiff, without deigning to consult any body, published no less than seventy laws or decrees, by which not only the authority of the popes and the power of the clergy were confirmed and extended, but also new doctrines, or *articles of faith*, were imposed upon Christians. Hitherto the opinions of the Christian doctors, concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of CHRIST were *present* in the eucharist, were extremely different; nor had the church determined by any clear and positive decree, the sentiment that was to be embraced in relation to that important matter. It was reserved for INNOCENT to put an end to the liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed, of interpreting this presence in the manner he thought most agreeable to the declarations of scripture, and to decide in favour of the most monstrous doctrine, that the frenzy of superstition was capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pronounced the opinion that is embraced at this day in the church of *Rome* relating to that point, to be the only true and orthodox account of the matter; and he *had the honour* of introducing and establishing the use of the term *Transubstantiation*, which was hitherto absolutely unknown [*p*]. The same pontiff placed, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confession* to a priest; a confession that implied not only a general acknowledgment, but also a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent. Before this period several doctors, indeed, looked upon this kind of *confession*, as a duty inculcated by divine authority; but this opinion was not publicly received as the doctrine of the church. For though the confession of sins was justly looked upon as an essential duty, yet it was left to every Christian's choice, to make this confession mentally to

☞ [*o*] At this council there were present 412 bishops, 800 abbots and priors, besides the ambassadors of almost all the European princes.

[*p*] See EDM. ALBERTINUS, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972.

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the Supreme Being, or to express it in words to a spiritual confidant and director [q]. These two laws, which, by the authority of INNOCENT, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of consequence, as laws of the church, occasioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the smallest traces are to be found in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic and primitive ages, and which were much more adapted to establish and extend the reign of superstition, than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuses of which it had been the source.

The sect of
the Flagel-
lantes, or
Whippers.

III. There is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miserable state of religion in this century, and of the frenzy that almost generally prevailed in the devotion of these unhappy times, than the rise of the sect called *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, which sprung up in *Italy* in the year 1260, and was propagated from thence through almost all the countries of *Europe*. The societies, that embraced this new discipline, presented the most hideous and shocking spectacle, that can well be conceived; they ran in multitudes, composed of persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, through the public places of the most populous cities, and also through the fields and deserts, with whips in their hands, lashing their naked bodies with the most astonishing severity, filling the air with their wild shrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of distraction, ferocity, and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themselves and others, by their voluntary mortification and penance [r]. This method of appealing the Deity was perfectly conformable to the notions concerning religion that generally prevailed in this century; nor did these fanatical *Whippers* do any thing more, in this extravagant discipline, than practise the lessons they had received from the monks, especially from those of the

[q] See the book of the learned DAILLY, concerning *Auricular Confession*.

[r] CHRIST. SCHOTGENII *Historia Flagellantium*.—JÂQUES BOILEAU, *Histoire des Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. We have also a lively picture of this fanatical discipline of the *Whippers*, exhibited in MARTENE's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tom. ii. p. 105. with which the reader may compare MURATORI *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469.

Mendicant

Mendicant orders. Hence they attracted the esteem and C E N T. XIII. PART II. veneration not only of the populace, but also of their rulers, and were honoured and revered by all ranks and orders on account of their extraordinary sanctity and virtue. Their sect, however, did not continue always in the same high degree of credit and reputation; for though the primitive *Whippers* were exemplary in point of morals, yet their societies were augmented, as might naturally be expected, by a turbulent and furious rabble, many of whom were infected with the most ridiculous and impious opinions. Hence both the emperors and pontiffs thought proper to put an end to this religious frenzy, by declaring all devout *whipping* contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the soul's eternal interests.

IV. The Christian interpreters and commentators of this century, differ very little from those of the preceding times. The greatest part of them pretended to draw from the depths of truth (or rather of their imaginations) what they called the *Internal juice and marrow* of the scriptures, i. e. their hidden and mysterious sense; and in this they did with so little dexterity, so little plausibility and invention, that the most of their explications must appear insipid and nauseous to such as are not entirely destitute of judgment and taste. If our readers be desirous of a proof of the justice of this censure, or curious to try the extent of their patience, they have only to peruse the explications that have been given by archbishop LANGTON, HUGH DE ST. CHER, and ANTONY of Padua, of the various books of the *Old and New Testament*. The *Mystic* doctors carried this visionary method of interpreting scripture to the greatest height, and displayed the most laborious industry, or rather the most egregious folly, in searching for mysteries, where reason and common sense could find nothing but plain and evident truths. They were too *penetrating and quick-sighted* not to perceive clearly in the holy scriptures all those doctrines that were agreeable to their idle and fantastic system. Nor were their adversaries the *school-men* entirely averse to this arbitrary and fanciful manner of interpretation; though their principal industry was employed rather in collecting the explications given by the ancient doctors, than in inventing

C E N T. inventing new ones, as appears from the writings of
 XIII. ALEXANDER HALES, GUILIELMUS ALVERNUS, and
 PART II. THOMAS AQUINAS himself. We must not, however,
 omit observing, that the scholastic doctors in general,
 and more especially these now mentioned, had recourse
 often to the subtilties of logic and metaphysic, to assist
 them in their explications of the sacred writings. To
 facilitate the study and interpretation of these divine
 books, HUGH DE ST. CHER composed his *Concordance* [s],
 and the Dominicans, under the eye of their supreme
 chief the learned JORDAN, gave a new edition of the
 Latin translation of the Bible, carefully revised and cor-
 rected from the ancient copies [t] The Greeks con-
 tributed nothing, that deserves attention, towards the
 illustration of the Holy Scriptures; the greatest part of
 which were expounded with great learning by GREGORY
 ABULPHARAIUS, that celebrated Syrian, whose erudition
 was famous throughout all the east, and whom we have
 already had occasion to mention in the course of this
 history [u].

The state of
 the didactic
 theology.

V. Systems of theology and morals were multiplied
 exceedingly in this century; and the number of those
 writers, who treated of the divine perfections and wor-
 ship, and of the practical rules of virtue and obedience,
 is too great to permit our mentioning them particularly.
 All such as were endowed with any considerable degree
 of genius and eloquence employed their labours upon
 these noble branches of sacred science, more especially
 the academical and public teachers, among whom the
 Dominicans and Franciscans held the most eminent rank.
 It is, indeed, neither necessary to mention the names,
 nor to enumerate the productions, of these doctors, since
 whoever is acquainted with the characters and writings
 of ALBERT the Great, and THOMAS AQUINAS, will
 know every thing that is worthy of note in the rest, who
 were no more than their echos. The latter of these two
 truly great men, who was commonly called the *Angel of*

[s] See ECHARDI *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 194.

[t] RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M.
 DU PIN.

[u] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 277.

the schools, or the *Angelic Doctor*, sat unrivalled at the head of the divines of this century, and deservedly obtained the principal place among those who digested the doctrines of Christianity into a regular system, and illustrated and explained them in a scientific manner. For no sooner had his system or *sum* of theology and morals seen the light, than it was received universally with the highest applause, placed in the same rank with the famous *Book of Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD, and admitted as the standard of truth and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of instruction, and the youth their method of study. Certain writers, indeed, have denied that THOMAS was the author of the celebrated system that bears his name [w]; but the reasons they alledge in support of this notion are utterly destitute of evidence and solidity [x].

VI. The greatest part of these doctors followed ARISTOTLE as their model, and made use of the logical and metaphysical principles of that subtle philosopher in illustrating the doctrines of Christianity and removing the difficulties with which some of them were attended. In their philosophical explications of the more sublime truths of that divine religion they followed the hypothesis of the *Realists*, which sect, in this century, was much more numerous and flourishing than that of the *Nominalists*, on account of the lustre and credit it derived from the authority of THOMAS AQUINAS and ALBERT, its learned and venerable patrons. Yet notwithstanding all the subtilty and penetration of these *irrefragable*, *seraphic*, and *angelic* doctors, as they were commonly styled, they often appeared wiser in their own conceit, than they were in reality, and frequently did little more than involve in greater obscurity, the doctrines which they pretended to place in the clearest light. For not to mention the ridiculous oddity of many of their expressions, the hideous

The scholastic doctors, for the most part, *Realists* *.

[w] See JO. LAUNOII *Traditio Ecclesiæ circa Simoniam*, p. 290.

[x] See NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccl. Sæc. xiii.* p. 391.—ECHARD and QUETIF, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator. Sæc. xiii.* tom. i. p. 293.—ANT. TOURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 604.

* In the original we find *Positivi* in the margin, which is manifestly a fault; since the *Positivi* were quite opposite, in their method of teaching, to the schoolmen, and were the same with *Biblici* mentioned in the following section. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. § VIII.

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barbarity of their style, and their extravagant and pre-
sumptuous desire of prying into matters that infinitely
surpass the comprehension of short-sighted mortals, they
were chargeable with defects in their manner of reason-
ing, which every true philosopher will, of all others, be
most careful to avoid. For they neither defined their
terms accurately, and hence arose innumerable disputes
merely about words; nor did they divide their subject
with perspicuity and precision, and hence they generally
treated it in a confused and unsatisfactory manner. The
great *Angelic Doctor* himself, notwithstanding his boasted
method, was defective in these respects; his definitions
are often vague, or obscure, and his plans or divisions,
though full of art, are frequently destitute of clearness
and proportion.

The num-
ber of com-
pilers, or
Biblicists *,
greatly di-
minished.

VII. The method of investigating divine truth by
reason and philosophy prevailed universally, and was fol-
lowed with such ardor, that the number of those, who,
in conformity with the example of the ancient doctors,
drew their systems of theology from the holy scriptures
and the writings of the fathers, and who acquired on that
account the name of *Biblicists*, diminished from day to
day. It is true indeed, that several persons of eminent
piety [y], and even some of the Roman pontiffs [z], ex-
horted with great seriousness and warmth the *scholastic* di-
vines, and more especially those of the university of
Paris, to change their method of teaching theology, and,

[y] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9. 129. 180.—
ANT. WOOD. *Antiqq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 91, 92. 94.

[z] See the famous epistle of GREGORY IX to the professors in the uni-
versity of *Paris*, published in DU BOULAY's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii.
p. 129. The pontiff concludes that remarkable epistle with the following
words: *Mandamus et stricte præcipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ,
doceatis Theologicam puritatem, non adulterantes verbum Dei Philosophorum fig-
mentis . . . sed contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum
fructu cælestis eloqui saginetis, ut hauriant a fontibus salvatoris.*

* In the margin of the original, instead of *Biblicists*, which we find
in the text, Dr. MOSHEIM has wrote *Sententiarii*, which is undoubtedly an
oversight. The *Sententiarii*, or followers of PETER LOMBARD, who is
considered as the father of the scholastic philosophy, are to be placed in the
same class with the philosophical divines, mentioned in the preceding sec-
tion, and were quite opposite to the *Biblici*, both in their manner of think-
ing and teaching. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. § VIII.

laying

laying aside their philosophical abstraction and subtilty, to deduce the sublime science of salvation from the holy scriptures with that purity and simplicity, with which it was there delivered by the inspired writers. But these admonitions and exhortations were without effect; the evil was become too inveterate to admit of a remedy, and the passion for logic and metaphysic was grown so universal and so violent, that neither remonstrances nor arguments could check its presumption, or allay its ardor. In justice however to the scholastic doctors, it is necessary to observe, that they did not neglect the dictates of the gospel, nor the authority of tradition; though what they drew from these two sources proves sufficiently that they had studied neither with much attention or application of mind [a]. And it is moreover certain, that, in process of time, they committed to others the care of consulting the sources now mentioned, and reserved to themselves the much-respected province of philosophy, and the intricate mazes of dialectical chicane. And, indeed, independent of their philosophical vanity, we may assign another reason for this method of proceeding, drawn from the nature of their profession, and the circumstances in which they were placed. For the greatest part of these subtile doctors were Dominican or Franciscan friars; and as the monks of these Orders had no possessions, not even libraries, and led, besides, wandering and itinerant lives, such of them as were ambitious of literary fame, and of the honours of authorship, were, for the most part, obliged to draw their materials from their own genius and memory, being destitute of all other succours.

VIII. The opinions which these philosophical divines instilled into the minds of the youth appeared to the votaries of the ancient fathers highly dangerous and even pernicious; and hence they used their utmost efforts to stop the progress of these opinions, and to diminish the credit and influence of their authors. Nor was their opposition at all ill grounded; for the subtle doctors of the school not only explained the mysteries of religion in a manner conformable to the principles of their pre-

[a] FAYDIT, *Alteration du Dogme Theologique par la Philosophie d'Aristote*, p. 289.—RICHARD SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. Du PIN, tom. i. p. 170. 187.

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sumptuous logic, and modified them according to the dictates of their imperfect reason, but also propagated the most impious sentiments and tenets concerning the Supreme Being, the material world, the origin of the universe, and the nature of the soul. And when it was objected to these sentiments and tenets, that they were in direct contradiction to the genius of Christianity, and to the express doctrines of scripture, these scholastic quibblers had recourse, for a reply, or rather for a method of escape, to that perfidious distinction, which has been frequently employed by modern deists, that these tenets were *philosophically true*, and conformable to right reason, but that they were, indeed, *theologically false*, and contrary to the orthodox faith. This kindled an open war between the *Biblicists*, or Bible-divines, and the scholastic doctors, which was carried on with great warmth throughout the whole course of this century, particularly in the universities of *Oxford* and *Paris*, where we find the former loading the latter with the heaviest reproaches in their public acts, and in their polemic writings, and accusing them of corrupting the doctrines of the gospel, both in their public lessons, and in their private discourse [b]. Even St. THOMAS himself was accused of holding opinions contrary to the truth; his orthodoxy, at least, was looked upon as extremely dubious by many of the Parisian doctors [c]. He accordingly saw a formidable scene of opposition arising against him, but had the good fortune to conjure the storm, and to escape untouched. Others, whose authority was less extensive and their names less respectable, were treated with more severity. The living were obliged to confess publicly their errors; and the dead, who had persevered in them to the last, had their memories branded with infamy.

The Mystics oppose the schoolmen.

IX. But the most formidable adversaries the scholastic doctors had to encounter were the *Mystics*, who, rejecting

[b] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 541. — BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 397. 430. 433. 472, &c.

[c] See JO. LAUNOII *Histor. Gymnas. Navarreni*, part III. lib. iii. cap. cxvi. tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 485. — BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 204. — PETRI ZORNII *Opuscula Sacra*, tom. i. p. 445. — R. SIMON, *Lettres Choissies*, tom. ii. p. 266. — ECHARDI *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 439.

every thing that had the least resemblance of argumen-
 tation or dispute about matters of doctrine and opinion, confined their endeavours to the advancement of inward piety, and the propagation of devout and tender feelings, and thus acquired the highest degree of popularity. The people, who are much more affected with what touches their passions, than with what is only addressed to their reason, were attached to the *Mystics* in the warmest manner; and this gave such weight to the reproaches and invectives which they threw out against the *school-men*, that the latter thought it more prudent to disarm these favourites of the multitude by mild and submissive measures, than to return their reproaches with indignation and bitterness. They accordingly set themselves to flatter the *Mystics*, and not only extolled their *sentimental* system, but employed their pens in illustrating and defending it; nay, they associated it with the scholastic philosophy, though they were as different from each other as any two things could possibly be. It is well known that BONAVENTURA, ALBERT the Great, ROBERT CAPITO, and THOMAS AQUINAS contributed to this reconciliation between Mysticism and Dialectics by their learned labours, and even went so far as to write commentaries upon DIONYSIUS, the chief of the *Mystics*, whom these subtle doctors probably looked upon with a secret contempt.

X. Both the school-men and *Mystics* of this century treated, in their writings, of the obligations of morality, the duties of the Christian life, and of the means that were most adapted to preserve or deliver the soul from the servitude and contagion of vice; but their methods of handling these important subjects were, as may be easily conceived, entirely different. We may form an idea of mystical morality from the *Observations* of GEORGE PACHYMERES, upon the writings of *Dionysius*, and from the *Spiritual Institutes*, or *Abridgment of Mystic Theology*, composed by HUMBERT DE ROMANIS, of which productions the first was written in Greek, and the second in Latin. As to the scholastic moralists, they were principally employed in defining the nature of virtue and vice in general, and the characters of the various virtues and vices in particular; and hence the prodigious number of *sums*,

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C E N T. or systematical collections, of virtues and vices, that appeared in this century. The school-men divided the virtues into two classes. The first comprehended the moral virtues, which differ, in no respect, from those which ARISTOTLE recommended to his disciples. The second contained the theological virtues, which, in consequence of what St. PAUL says, 1 *Coriuth.* xiii. 13. they made to consist in *Faith, Hope, and Charity.* In explaining and illustrating the nature of the virtues comprehended in these two classes, they seemed rather to have in view the pleasure of disputing than the design of instructing, and they exhausted all their subtilty in resolving difficulties which were of their own creation. THOMAS AQUINAS shone forth as a star of the first magnitude, though, like the others, he was often covered with impenetrable fogs. The second part of his famous *sum* was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them; and this part of his learned labours has had the honour and misfortune of passing through the hands of a truly prodigious number of commentators.

An important remark relating to the manner of treating morals, in this century.

XI. It is absolutely necessary to observe here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries must be read with the utmost caution; and with a perpetual attention to this circumstance, that, though they employ the same terms that we find in the sacred writings, yet they use them in a quite different sense from that which they bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but as these virtues are illustrated by these quibbling sophists, they differ much from the amiable, and sublime duties, which CHRIST and his disciples have inculcated under the same denominations. A single example will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A *pious* and *holy* man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensable duty, to obey his laws. But, in the style of the moral writers of this age, he was a *pious* and *holy* man, who deprived himself of his possessions to enrich the priesthood,

to

to build churches, and found monasteries, and whose faith and obedience were so implicitly enslaved to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiffs, that he believed and acted without examination, as these lordly directors thought proper to prescribe. Nor were the ideas which these writers entertained concerning *justice*, at all conformable to the nature of that virtue, as it is described in the holy scriptures, since in their opinion it was lawful to injure, revile, torment, persecute, and even to put to death, a *Heretic*, i. e. any person who refused to obey blindly the decrees of the pontiffs, or to believe all the absurdities, which they imposed upon the credulity of the multitude.

XII. The writers of controversy in this century were more numerous than respectable. NICETAS ACOMINATUS, who made a considerable figure among the Greeks, attacked all the different sects in his work entitled, *The Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*; but he combated after the Grecian manner, and defended the cause he undertook to maintain, rather by the decrees of councils, and the decisions of the fathers, than by the dictates of reason and the authority of scripture. RAYMOND of PENNAFORT was one of the first among the Latins, who abandoned the unchristian method of converting infidels by the force of arms and the terrors of capital punishments, and who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument [d]. This engaged in the same controversy a considerable number of able disputants, who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages, among whom RAYMOND MARTIN, the celebrated author of the *Sword of Faith* [e], is unquestionably entitled to the first rank. THOMAS AQUINAS also appeared with dignity among the Christian champions, and his book against the Gentiles [f] is far from being contemptible; nor ought we to omit mentioning a learned work of ALAN DE L'ISLE, which was designed to refute

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controversial
theology.

[d] ECHARD et QUETIF in *Scriptoribus Ordinis Prædicator*, tom. i. § xiii. p. 106.

[e] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article MARTINI.—PAULI COLOMESII *Hispania Orient.* p. 209.

[f] JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Delect. Argumentorum et Scriptor. pro veritate Relig. Christian.* p. 270.

CENT. the objections of both Jews and Pagans [g]. The writers, who handled other more particular branches of theological controversy, were far inferior to these now mentioned in genius and abilities; and their works seemed less calculated to promote the truth, than to render their adversaries odious.

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The controversy between the Greeks and Latins continued,

XIII. The grand controversy between the Greek and Latin church was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, one way or another, proved ineffectual. GREGORY IX employed the ministry of the Franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, and pursued with zeal this laudable purpose from the year 1232 to the end of his pontificate, but without the least appearance of success [b]. INNOCENT IV embarked in the same undertaking in the year 1247, and sent JOHN of PARMA, with other Franciscan friars, to Nice for the same purpose; while the Grecian pontiff came in person to Rome, and was declared legate of the *Apostolic see* [i]. But these previous acts of mutual civility and respect, which could not but excite the hopes of such as longed for the conclusion of these unhappy discords, did not terminate in the reconciliation that was expected. New incidents arose to blast the influence of these salutary measures, and the flame of dissention recovered new vigour. Under the pontificate of URBAN IV, the aspect of things changed for the better, and the negotiations for peace were renewed with such success, as promised a speedy conclusion of these unhappy divisions. For MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS had no sooner driven the Latins out of Constantinople, than he sent ambassadors to Rome to declare his pacific intentions, that thus he might establish his disputed dominion, and gain over the Roman pontiff to his side [k]. But, during the course of these negotiations, URBAN's death left matters unfinished, and

[g] *Liber contra Judæos et Paganos.*

[b] See WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 279. 296. & ECHARD, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 103. 911.—Add to these MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 386.

[i] See BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 370. 388. 393. 397. 497. 498. —WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. & iv. p. 37.

[k] WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 181. 201. 223. 269. 303. suspended

suspended once more the hopes and expectations of the public. Under the pontificate of GREGORY X, proposals of peace were again made by the same emperor, who, after much opposition from his own clergy, sent ambassadors to the council that was assembled at *Lions* in the year 1274 [1], and there, with the solemn consent of JOHN VECCUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, and several Greek bishops, publicly agreed to the terms of accommodation proposed by the Roman pontiff [m]. This reunion, however, was not durable; for the situation of affairs in *Greece* and *Italy* being changed some years after this convention, and that in such a manner, as to deliver the former from all apprehensions of a Latin invasion, ANDRONICUS, the son of MICHAEL, assembled a council at *Constantinople* in the palace of *Blachernæ*, A. D. 1284, in which, by a solemn decree, this ignominious treaty was declared entirely null, and the famous VECCUS, by whose persuasion and authority it had been concluded, was sent into exile [n]. This resolute measure, as may well be imagined, rendered the divisions more violent than they had been before the treaty now mentioned; and it was also followed by an open schism, and by the most unhappy discords among the Grecian clergy.

XIV. We pass over several controversies of a more private kind and of inferior moment, which have nothing

The disputes concerning the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist continued.

[1] See WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 343. 371. tom. v. p. 9. 29. 62.—COLONIA, *Hist. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 284.

[m] JOSEPH, and not VECCUS, was patriarch of *Constantinople*, when this treaty was concluded. The former had bound himself by a solemn oath never to consent to a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; for which reason the emperor, when he sent his ambassadors to *Lions*, proposed to JOSEPH the following alternative: that if, they succeeded in bringing about an accommodation, he should renounce his patriarchal dignity, but, if they failed in their attempt, he was to remain patriarch, advising him, at the same time, to retire to a convent, until the matter was decided. The ambassador succeeded, JOSEPH was deposed, and VECCUS elected in his place; when, and not before, this latter ratified the treaty in question by his solemn consent to the ignominious article of *supremacy* and *pre-eminence*, which it confirmed to the Roman pontiff.

[n] LEO ALLATIUS *de perpetua consensione Eccles. Orient, et Occident.* lib. ii. c. xv, xvi. p. 727.—FRED. SPANHEIM *de perpet. diffensione Græcor. et Latin.* tom. ii. opp. p. 483, &c.

C E T N. in their nature or circumstances that deserves the attention of the curious; but we must not forget to observe
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CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the Church during this century.

Rites multiplied. I. IT would be endless to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more striking. These additions were owing partly to

[o] PET. ALLIX. *Præf. ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris*, published at London in 8vo, in the year 1686.

[p] The book of this celebrated doctor was published by the learned ALLIX abovementioned. See BALUZII *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 576.—DACHERII *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 58.—ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominici*, tom. i. p. 561.

the public edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly to the private injunctions of the Sacerdotal and Monastic orders, who shared the veneration, which was excited in the multitude by the splendor and magnificence of this religious spectacle. Instead of mentioning these additions, we shall only observe in general, that religion was now become a sort of a raree-show in the hands of the rulers of the church, who, to render its impressions more deep and lasting, thought proper to exhibit it in a striking manner to the external senses. For this purpose, at certain stated times, and especially upon the more illustrious festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in the Christian history, were represented under certain allegorical figures and images, or rather in a kind of mimic shew [q]. But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, these tragi-comical spectacles, though they amused and affected in a certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful, to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

II. It will not appear surprising that the bread, consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies and institutions that are still used in the church of *Rome* in honour of that *deified* bread, as they blasphemously call it. Hence those rich and splendid receptacles, that were formed for the residence of God under this new shape [r],

The rites instituted in relation to the eucharist.

[q] It is probable enough, that this licentious custom of exhibiting mimic representations of religious objects derived its origin from the Mendicant friars.

[r] This blasphemous language, which Dr. MOSHEIM is obliged to use in representing the absurdities of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, is nothing in comparison with the impious figures that were made use of by the abettors of that monstrous tenet to accommodate it, in some measure, to the capacities of the multitude. We need not wonder, that the Pagans metamorphosed their JUPITER into a *bull*, a *swan*, and other such figures, when we see the rulers of the Christian church transforming the Son of God into a piece of bread; a transformation so vile, and, even were it not vile, so useless, and

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and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were designed to beautify this habitation of the Deity. And hence the custom that still prevails, of carrying about this *divine bread* in solemn pomp through the public streets, when it is to be administered to sick or dying persons, with many other ceremonies of a like nature, which are dishonourable to religion, and opprobrious to humanity. But that which gave the finishing touch to this heap of absurdities, and displayed superstition in its highest extravagance, was the institution of the celebrated annual *Festival of the Holy Sacrament*, or, as it is sometimes called, of the *body of Christ*, whose origin was as follows: A certain devout woman, whose name was JULIANA, and who lived at *Liege*, declared that she had received a revelation from heaven, intimating to her, that it was the will of God, that a peculiar festival should be annually observed in honour of the *holy sacrament*, or rather of the *real presence* of CHRIST's body in that sacred institution. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended vision, whose circumstances were extremely equivocal and absurd [s], and which would have come to nothing, had it not been supported by ROBERT, bishop of *Liege*, who, in the year 1246, published an order for the celebration of this festival throughout the whole province, notwithstanding the opposition which he knew would be made to a proposal founded only on an idle dream. After the death of JULIANA, one of her friends and companions, whose name was EVE, took up her cause with uncommon zeal, and had credit enough with URBAN IV to engage him to publish, in the year 1264, a solemn edict, by which the festival in question was imposed upon all the Christian churches without exception. This edict, however, did not produce its full and proper effect, on ac-

that it is inconceivable how it could enter into the head of any mortal, and equally so, how the bishops of *Rome* could confide so far in the credulity of the people as to risk their authority by propagating such a doctrine.

☞ [s] This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was *inwardly* informed by the spirit, that the *moon* signified the *church*, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.

COUNT

count of the death of the pontiff, which happened soon after its publication; so that the festival under consideration was not celebrated universally throughout the Latin churches before the pontificate of CLEMENT V [1], who, in the council, held at *Vienne* in *France*, in the year 1311, confirmed the edict of URBAN, and thus, in spite of all opposition, established a festival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the council of the Lateran under INNOCENT III, or than all the exhortations of his lordly successors.

III. About the conclusion of this century, BONIFACE VIII added to the public rites and ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at *Rome*, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299, a rumour was spread abroad among the inhabitants of that city, that all such, as visited, within the limits of the following year, the church of *St. Peter*, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service, once every hundred years. BONIFACE no sooner heard of this, than he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report, and the result of this inquiry was answerable to his views; for he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit [u], (say

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The year of
jubilee add-
ed to the
rites of the
church.

[1] See BARTHOL. FISEN, *Origo prima Festi Corporis CHRISTI ex Visu Sanctæ Virginis Julianæ oblato*, published in 8vo at *Liege*, in the year 1619 — DALLÆUS, *De cultus religiosi objecto*, p. 287. — *Acta Sanctor. April. tom. i. p. 437. 903.* — And above all BENEDICT. Pont. Max. *de Fests CHRISTI et Mariæ*, lib. i. c. xiii. p. 360. tom. x. opp.

[u] These Testimonies worthy of credit have never been produced by the Romish writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an old man, who had completed his 107th year, and who, being brought before BONIFACE VIII, declared (if we may believe the Abbé FLEURY) that his father, who was a common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, an hundred years before that time. See FLEURY *Hist. Eccles.* towards the end of the twelfth century. — It is however a very unaccountable thing, if the institution of the jubilee year was not the invention of BONIFACE, that there should be neither in the acts of councils, nor in the records of history, nor in the writings of the learned, any trace, or the least mention of its celebration before the year 1300; this, with other reasons of an irresistible evidence, have persuaded some Roman-catholic writers to consider the institu-

the

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the Roman catholic historians) that, from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by the services above-mentioned. No sooner had the pontiff received this information than he issued out an epistolary mandate, addressed to all Christians, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church, that those, who every hundredth or jubilee year, confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of contrition and repentance, the churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at *Rome*, should obtain thereby the entire remission of their various offences [w]. The successors of BONIFACE were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but, finding by experience that it added to the lustre and augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year [x].

tion of the jubilee year, as the invention of this pontiff, who, to render it more respectable, pretended that it was of a much earlier date. See GHILIN: & VICTORELL. apud BONANNI *Numism. Pontif. Rom.* tom. i. p. 22, 23.

[w] So the matter is related by JAMES CAJETAN, cardinal of *St. George*, and nephew to BONIFACE, in his *Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubileo anno*, which is published in his *Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 426. 440. and in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 267. nor is there any reason to believe that his account is erroneous and false, nor that BONIFACE acted the part of an impostor, from a principle of avarice, upon this occasion.

N. B. It is not without astonishment, that we hear Dr. MOSHEIM deciding in this manner with respect to the good faith of BONIFACE and the relation of his nephew. The character of that wicked and ambitious pontiff is well known, and the relation of the cardinal of *St. George*, has been proved to be the most ridiculous, fabulous, motley piece of stuff that ever usurped the title of an historical record. See the excellent *Lettres de M. Chais sur les Jubilés* (that are mentioned more at large in the following note); tom. i. p. 53.

[x] The various writers, who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by JO. ALBERT FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316. Among the authors that may be added to this list, there is one whom we think it necessary to mention particularly, viz. the Reverend CHARLES CHAIS, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et des Indulgences*, were published at the *Hague* in three volumes 8vo, in the year 1751.

These letters of Mr. CHAIS (minister of the French church at the *Hague*, and well known in the Republic of Letters) contain the most full and

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the Church during this century.

I. **W**E have no account of any new sects that arose C E N T. XIII. PART II. among the Greeks during this century. Those of the Nestorians and Jacobites, which were settled in the remoter regions of the east, and who equalled the Greeks Nestorians and Jacobites. in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin

accurate account that has been ever given of the institution of the jubilee, and of the rise, progress, abuses, and enormities of the infamous traffic of indulgences. This account is judiciously collected from the best authors of antiquity, and from several curious records that have escaped the researches of other writers; it is also interspersed with curious, and sometimes ludicrous anecdotes, that render the work equally productive of entertainment and instruction. In the first volume of these Letters, the learned author lays open the nature and origin of the institution of the jubilee; he proves it to have been a human invention, which owed its rise to the avarice and ambition of the popes, and its credit to the ignorance and superstition of the people, and whose celebration was absolutely unknown before the thirteenth century, which is the true date of its origin. He takes notice of the various changes it underwent with respect to the time of its celebration, the various colours with which the ambitious pontiffs covered it in order to render it respectable and alluring in the eyes of the multitude; and exposes these illusions by many convincing arguments, whose gravity is seasoned with an agreeable and temperate mixture of decent raillery. He proves, with the utmost evidence, that the papal jubilee is an imitation of the *Secular Games* that were celebrated with such pomp in Pagan Rome. He points out the gross contradictions that reign in the *bulls* of the different popes, with respect to the nature of this institution and the time of its celebration. Nor does he pass over in silence the infamous traffic of indulgences, the worldly pomp and splendor, the crimes, debaucheries, and disorders of every kind, that were observable at the return of each jubilee year. He lays also before the reader an historical view of all the jubilees that were celebrated from the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII, in the year 1300, to that of BENEDICT XIV, in 1750, with an entertaining account of the most remarkable adventures that happened among the pilgrims who repaired to Rome on these occasions. The second and third volumes of these interesting Letters treat of the *indulgences* that are administered in the church of Rome. The reader will find here their nature and origin explained, the doctrine of the Roman-catholic divines relating to them stated and refuted, the history of this impious traffic accurately laid down, and its enormities and pernicious effects circumstantially exposed with learning, perspicuity, and candour,

church,

CENT. church, were frequently solicited, by the ministry of
 XIII. Franciscan and Dominican missionaries sent among them
 PART II. by the popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year
 1246, INNOCENT IV used his utmost efforts to bring both
 these sects under his dominion; and in the year 1278,
 terms of accommodation were proposed by NICOLAS IV
 to the Nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the
 sect which resided in the Northern parts of *Asia* [y].
 The leading men both among the Nestorians and Jaco-
 bites seemed to give ear to the proposals that were made
 to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation
 with the church of *Rome*; but the prospect of peace soon
 vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong
 the rupture.

The contests
 of the Ro-
 man pontiffs
 with vari-
 ous sects,
 whom they
 branded in-
 discrimi-
 nately with
 the name of
 Heretics.

II. During the whole course of this century, the Roman
 pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman per-
 secution against those whom they branded with the de-
 nomination of *heretics*, i. e. against all those who called
 their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or
 taught doctrines different from those which were adopted
 and propagated by the church of *Rome*. For the sects of
 the *Catharists*, *Waldenses*, *Petrobrusians*, &c. gathered
 strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly through-
 out all *Europe*, assembled numerous congregations in *Italy*,
France, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and formed by degrees such
 a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the
 Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with
 a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions
 were added, which, though they differed from each other
 in various respects, yet were all unanimously agreed in
 this one point, viz. "That the public and established
 " religion was a motley system of errors and superstition;
 " and that the dominion which the popes had usurped
 " over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in
 " religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical."
 Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who
 refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by
 arguments drawn from the holy scriptures, and whose
 declamations against the power, the opulence, and the

[y] ODOR. RANALDUS, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. xiii. ad A. 1247. § xxxii.
 & tom. xv. ad A. 1303. § xxii. & ad A. 1304. § xxiii.—MATTH. PARIS,
Histor. Major, p. 372.

vices of the pontiffs and clergy were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who groaned under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs, therefore, considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and subduing enemies, who both by their number and their rank were every way proper to fill them with terror.

III. The number of these dissenters from the church of Rome was no where greater than in *Narbonne Gaul* [z], and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a singular manner, by RAYMOND VI, earl of *Tholouse*, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the bishops, either through humanity or indolence, were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aside all their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied prodigiously from day to day. INNOCENT III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of *France* to do what the bishops had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in using such methods as might be necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this ghostly commission were RAINIER [a], a Cistercian monk, PIERRE DE CASTELNAU [b], arch-deacon of *Maguelonne*, who became also afterwards a Cistercian friar. These eminent missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard DOMINIC, founder of the order of preachers, who, returning from *Rome* in the year 1206, fell in with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured both by his exhortations and actions in the extirpation of heresy. These spiritual champions, who engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the

[z] That part of *France* which, in ancient times, comprehended the provinces of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc*.

[a] Instead of RAINIER, other historians mention one RAOUL, or RALPH, as the associate of PIERRE DE CASTELNAU. See FLEURY, *Histoire Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. § xii.

[b] The greatest part of the Roman writers consider PIERRE DE CASTELNAU as the first *Inquisitor*. It will appear hereafter in what sense this assertion may be admitted. For an account of this legate, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Martii*, p. 411.

C E N T. pope, without either asking the advice or demanding the
 XIII. succours of the bishops, and who inflicted capital punish-
 P A R T II. ment upon such of the heretics as they could not convert
 by reason and argument, were distinguished in common
 discourse by the title of *Inquisitors*, and from them the
 formidable and odious tribunal called the *Inquisition* de-
 rived its original.

The form of
 the inquisi-
 tion settled.

IV. When this new set of heresy-hunters [c] had
 executed their commission, and purged the provinces to
 which they were sent of the greatest part of the enemies
 of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were so sensible of their
 excellent services, that they established missionaries of a
 like nature, or, in other words, placed *Inquisitors* in
 almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune
 to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance
 which the people shewed to this new institution, and the
 violence with which they frequently expelled, and some-
 times massacred these bloody officers of the popish hierar-
 chy. The council held at *Tholouse*, in the year 1229,
 by ROMANUS, cardinal of *St. Angelo*, and pope's legate,
 went still farther, and erected in every city a *council of*
inquisitors consisting of one priest and three laymen [d]. This
 institution was, however, superseded, in the year 1233,
 by GREGORY IX, who entrusted the Dominicans, or
 preaching friars, with the important commission of dis-
 covering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were
 lurking in *France*, and in a formal epistle discharged the
 bishops from the burthen of that painful office [e]. Im-
 mediately after this, the bishop of *Tournay*, who was the
 pope's legate in *France*, began to execute this new reso-
 lution, by appointing PIERRE CELLAN, and GUILLAUME
 ARNAUD, *inquisitors of heretical pravity at Tholouse*, and

[c] The term of Heresy-hunters, for which the translator is respon-
 sible, will not seem absurd, when it is known, that the missionaries, who
 were sent into the provinces of *France* to extirpate heresy, and the inquisitors
 who succeeded them, were bound by an oath, not only to seek for the heretics
 in towns, houses, cellars, and other lurking-places, but also in woods, caves,
 fields, &c.

[d] See HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.

[e] BERNHARD. GUIDONIS in *Chronico Pontif. MS. ap. JAC. ECHAR-*
DUM Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 88.—PERCINI *Historia Inquisit. Tho-*
losanæ, subjoined to his *Historia Conventus FF. Prædicat. Tholosæ*, 1693, in
 8vo.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 394, 395.

afterwards

afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the monks of that celebrated order [f]. From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *inquisition*, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames without mercy. For the Dominicans erected, first at *Tholouse*, and afterwards at *Carcaffone* and other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only *heretics*, and persons *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all who were accused of *magic, sorcery, judaism, witchcraft*, and other crimes of that kind. This tribunal, in process of time, was erected in the other countries of *Europe*, though not every where with the same success [g].

[f] ECHARD & PERCINUS *loc. citat.*

[g] The accounts we have here given of the first rise of the *Inquisition*, though founded upon the most unexceptionable testimonies and the most authentic records, are yet very different from those that are to be found in most authors. Certain learned men tell us, that the *Tribunal of the Inquisition* was the invention of St. DOMINIC, and was first erected by him in the city of *Tholouse*: that he, of consequence, was the first inquisitor: that the year of its institution is indeed uncertain; but that it was undoubtedly confirmed in a solemn manner, by INNOCENT III, in the council of the Lateran, in the year 1215. See JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, p. 569.—PHIL. LIMBORCHI *Historia Inquisit.* lib. i. c. x. p. 39. and the other writers mentioned by FABRICIUS. I will not affirm, that the writers who give this account of the matter have advanced all this without authority; but this I will venture to say, that the authors, whom they have taken for their guides, are not of the first rate in point of merit and credibility. LIMBORCH, whose *History of the Inquisition* is looked upon as a most important and capital work, is generally followed by modern writers in their accounts of that odious tribunal. But, however laudable that historian may have been in point of fidelity and diligence, it is certain, that he was but little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle age; that he drew his materials, not from the true and original sources, but from writers of a second class, and thus has fallen, in the course of his history, into various mistakes. His account of the origin of the *inquisition* is undoubtedly false; nor does that which is given by many other writers approach nearer to the truth. The circumstances of this account, which I have mentioned in the beginning of this note, are more especially destitute of all foundation. Many of the Dominicans, who, in our times, have presided in the court of *inquisition*, and have extolled the sanctity of that *pious* institution, deny, at

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V. The method of proceeding in this court of inquisition was at first simple, and almost in every respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of justice [b]. But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the pomp and majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and who made such alterations in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of taking cognizance of *heretical* causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These friars were, to say the truth, entirely ignorant of judicial matters; nor were they acquainted with the procedures of any other tribunal, than that which was called, in the Roman church, the *Tribunal of penance*. It was therefore after this, that they modelled the new court of *Inquisition*, as far as a resemblance between the two was possible; and hence arose that strange system of *inquisitorial* law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice. This is the important circumstance by which we are enabled to account for the absurd, imprudent, and iniquitous proceedings of the inquisitors against persons,

the same time, that DOMINIC was its founder, as also that he was the first inquisitor, nay, that he was an inquisitor at all. They go still farther, and affirm, that the court of inquisition was not erected during the life of St. DOMINIC. Not is all this advanced inconsiderately, as every impartial inquirer into the proofs they alledge will easily perceive. Nevertheless, the question, Whether or not St. DOMINIC was an inquisitor, seems to be merely a dispute about words, and depends entirely upon the different significations of which the term *inquisitor* is susceptible. That word, according to its original meaning, signified a person invested with the commission and authority of the Roman pontiff to extirpate heresy and oppose its abettors, but not clothed with any judicial power. But it soon acquired a different meaning, and signified a person appointed by the Roman pontiff to proceed *judicially* against heretics and such as were suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence according to their respective cases, and to deliver over to the secular arm such as persisted obstinately in their errors. In this latter sense DOMINIC was not an *inquisitor*; since it is well known that there were no papal judges of this nature before the pontificate of GREGORY IX; but he was undoubtedly an *inquisitor* in the original sense that was attached to that term.

[b] The records, published by the Benedictines in their *Histoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371. shew the simplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the inquisition at its first institution.

that

that are accused of holding, what they call, heretical CENT. XIII. PART II. opinions.

VI. That nothing might be wanting to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman The rights and privileges granted to the Inquisition. pontiffs persuaded the European princes, and more especially the emperor FREDERIC II and LEWIS IX king of France, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against heretics, and to commit to the flames, by the ministry of public justice, those who were pronounced *such* by the inquisitors, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. The edicts to this purpose issued out by FREDERIC II are well known; edicts every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from the cruellest death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the inquisitors [i]. These abominable laws were not, however, sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, nay, even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were insulted by the multitude in many places, were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and CONRAD of Marburg, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from GREGORY IX, was one of the many victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the

[i] The law of the emperor FREDERIC, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in LIMBORCH's *History of the Inquisition*, as also in the *Epistles* of PIERRE DE VIGNES, and in BZOVIVS RAYNALDUS, &c. The edict of St. LEWIS, in favour of these ghostly judges, is generally known under the title of *Cupientes*; for so it is called by the French lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued out in the year 1229, as the Benedictine monks have proved sufficiently in their *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378. 575. It is also published by CATELIUS, in his *Hist. Comit. Tolosanor.* p. 340. and in many other authors. This edict is as severe and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of FREDERIC II. For a great part of the sanctity of good king LEWIS consisted in his furious and implacable aversion to heretics, against whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and whets, than the power of reason and argument. See DU FRESNE, *Vita Ludovici a Joinvillio scripta*, p. 11. 39.

C E N T. public [k], which his incredible barbarities had raised to a dreadful degree of vehemence and fury [l].

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Severer methods are employed against the heretics.

VII. When INNOCENT III perceived that the labours of the first *inquisitors* were not immediately attended with such abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, and to the leading men of that nation, soliciting them by the alluring promise of the most ample *indulgences*, to extirpate all, whom he thought proper to call heretics, by fire and sword [m]. This exhortation was repeated with new accessions of fervor and earnestness the year following, when PIERRE DE CASTELNAU, the legate of this pontiff, and his inquisitor in *France*, was put to death by the patrons of the people, called heretics [n]. Not long after this, the Cistercian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of *France*, and a storm seemed to be gathering against them on all sides: RAYMOND VI, earl of *Tholouse*, in whose territories CASTELNAU had been massacred, was solemnly excommunicated, and, to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, changed sides, and embarked in the crusade now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable army of cross-bearers commenced against the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of *Albigenses* [o], an open war which they carried on with the

[k] The life of this furious and celebrated inquisitor has been composed from the most authentic records that are extant, and also from several valuable manuscripts by the learned JOHN HERMAN SCHMINKIUS. See also WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151. 355. & ECHARD *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 487.

[l] The Abbé FLEURY acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisitor, who, under the pretext of heresy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, clerks, monks, hermits, and lay-persons of all ranks, but moreover caused them to be put to death, the very same day they were accused, without appeal. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxx. § xxiv.

[m] INNOCENT III *Epistolæ*, lib. x. *Epist.* 49.

[n] Id. *ibid.* Lib. xi. *Ep.* 26, 27, 28, 29.—*Acta Sanctor. Mart.* tom. i. p. 411.

[o] The term *Albigenses* is used in two senses, of which the one is general, and the other more confined. In its more general and extensive sense it comprehends all the various kinds of heretics who resided at this time in *Narbonne-Gaul*, i. e. in the southern parts of *France*. This appears from the utmost

utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various successes, for several years. The chief director of this ghostly war was ARNALD, abbot of the Cistercians, and legate of the Roman pontiff: and the commander in chief of the troops employed in this noble expedition was SIMON earl of *Montford*. RAYMOND VI, earl of *Tholouse*, who, consulting his safety rather than his conscience, had engaged in the crusade against the heretics, was obliged to change sides, and to attack their persecutors. For SIMON, who had embarked in this war not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of RAYMOND, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of *Rome*. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of INNOCENT III, at the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, the county of *Tholouse* and the other lands, belonging to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the cause of God and of the church. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of *Tholouse*. RAYMOND, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

following passage of PETRUS SARNENSIS, who, in the *Dedication of his History of the Albigenes to Innocent III*, expresses himself thus: *Tolosani et aliarum civitatum, et castrorum hæretici, et defensores eorum generaliter Albigenes vocantur*. The same author divides afterwards the *Albigenes* into various sects (*Cap. ii. p. 3 & 8.*) of which he considers that of the *Waldenses* as the least pernicious. *Mali erant Waldenses, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum longe minus perversi*. It was not, however, from the city of *Albigia*, or *Albi*, that the French heretics were comprehended under the general title of *Albigenes*, but from another circumstance, to wit, that the greatest part of *Narbonne-Gaul* was, in this century, called *Albigesum*, as the Benedictine monks have clearly demonstrated in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. not. xiii. p. 552. The term *Albigenes*, in its more confined sense, was used to denote those heretics who inclined towards the Manichæan system, and who were otherwise known by the denominations of *Carbarists*, *Publicans* or *Paulicians*, and *Bulgarians*. This appears evidently from many incontestable authorities, and more especially from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, published by LIMBORCH, in his *History of the Inquisition*, and in which the *Albigenes* are carefully distinguished from the other sects that made a noise in this century.

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The fruit-
less opposi-
tion made
by the earl
of *Tbolouse*
to the Ro-
man pontiff.

VIII. Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene; but this removal was far from extinguishing the infernal flame of persecution on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. RAYMOND VII, earl of *Tbolouse*, and AMALRIC, earl of *Montford*, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and carried on the war with the utmost vehemence, and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. The former seemed at first more powerful than his adversary, and the Roman pontiff HONORIUS III, alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged LEWIS VIII, king of *France*, by the most pompous promises, to march in person with a formidable army against the enemies of the church. The obsequious monarch listened to the solicitations of the lordly pontiff, and embarked with a considerable military force in the cause of the church, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of *Rome*, and his furious designs against the heretics, were executed with the greatest alacrity and vigour by his son and successor LEWIS the *Saint*; so that RAYMOND, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greatest part of his territories to the French monarch, after having sacrificed a considerable portion of them, as a peace-offering to the church of *Rome* [p]. This treaty of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause of heresy, and dispersed the champions that had appeared in its defence; the *inquisition* was established at *Tbolouse*, and the heretics were

[p] It was in consequence of this treaty (of which the articles were drawn up at *Meaux*, and afterwards confirmed at *Paris* in presence of LEWIS) that the university of *Tbolouse* was founded; RAYMOND having bound himself thereby to pay the sum of 4000 silver marks, in order to the support of two professors of divinity, two of canon law, two of grammar, and six of the liberal arts, during the space of ten years. We must also observe, that what Dr. MOSHEIM says of the cession that RAYMOND made of his lands is not sufficiently clear and accurate. These lands were not to be transferred till after his death, and they were to be transferred to the brother of LEWIS IX, who, according to the treaty, was to espouse the daughter of RAYMOND. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxix. § 50.

not

not only exposed to the pious cruelties of LEWIS, but, what was still more shocking, RAYMOND himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor, and treated them upon all occasions with the most inhuman severity. It is true, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty above-mentioned, and renewed the war against LEWIS and the inquisitors, who abused their victory and the power they had acquired in the most odious manner. But this new effort, in favour of the heretics, was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of *Tholouse*, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, and partly the pretext, and which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of *France* and to the Roman pontiffs [q].

[q] Many writers both ancient and modern have related the circumstances of this religious war, that was carried on against the earls of *Tholouse* and their confederates, and also against the heretics, whose cause they maintained. But none of the historians, whom I have consulted on this subject, have treated it with that impartiality which is so essential to the merit of historical writing. The Protestant writers, among whom BASNAGE deserves an eminent rank, are too favourable to RAYMOND and the *Albigenses*; the Roman-catholic historians lean with still more partiality to the other side. Of these latter the most recent are BENEDICT, a Dominican monk, author of the *Histoire des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et des Barbetais*, published at *Paris*, in 1691, in two volumes, 12mo.—J. BAPT. LANGLOIS, a jesuit, who composed the *Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, which was published in 12mo, at *Rouen*, in 1703, to which we must add, Jo. JAC. PERCINI *Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis FF. Prædicator, in quibus Historia hujus Conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigensum facti narratio, Tolosæ, 1693, Fol.* These writers are chargeable with the greatest partiality and injustice in the reproaches and calumnies they throw out so liberally against the RAYMONDS and the *Albigenses*, while they disguise, with a perfidious dexterity, the barbarity of SIMON of *Montfort*, and the ambitious views of extending their dominions that engaged the kings of *France* to enter into this war. The most ample and accurate account of this expedition against the Heretics is that which is given by the learned Benedictines CLAUDE LE VIC and JOSEPH VAISSETTE, in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc, Paris 1730, tom. iii.* in which, however, there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.

IX. The

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The brethren and
Sisters of
the free
spirit.

IX. The severity which the court of *Rome* employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in several places. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration, while some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty. Among the latter we may reckon that of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, which about this time gained ground secretly and imperceptibly in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, and seduced into its bosom multitudes of persons of both sexes, by the striking appearance of piety that was observed in the conduct of the members that composed it. How far the councils of this century proceeded against this new sect, we cannot say with any certainty; because we have upon record but a few of the decrees that were issued out upon that occasion. Perhaps the obscurity of the rising faction screened it, in a great measure, from public view. But this was not the case in the following age; the *Brethren and Sisters* above-mentioned came forth from their retreats in proportion as their numbers increased; they drew upon them the eyes of the world, and particularly those of the *inquisitors*, who committed to the flames such of these unhappy enthusiasts as fell into their hands; while the councils, held in *Germany* and other nations, loaded them with excommunications and damnatory edicts.

This new sect took their denomination from the words of St. PAUL [r], and maintained that the true children of God were invested with the privilege of a full and perfect *freedom* from the jurisdiction of the *law* [s].

[r] *Romans* viii. 2. 14.

[s] The accounts we here give of these wretched Fanatics are, for the most part, taken from authentic records, which have not been as yet published, from the decrees of synods and councils held in *France* and *Germany*, from the *Diplomas* of the Roman pontiffs, the sentences pronounced by the inquisitors, and the other sources of information to which I have had access. I have also a collection of extracts from certain books of these enthusiasts, and more especially from that which treated of the *Nine spiritual rocks*, and which was in the highest esteem among the *free brethren*, who considered it

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They were called, by the Germans and Flemish, *Beg-hards* and *Beguttes*, which, as we have seen already, was a name usually given to those who made an extraordinary profession of piety and devotion. They received from others, the reproachful denomination of *Bicorni*, i. e. Ideots. In *France*, they were known by the appellation of *Beghins* and *Beghines*, while the multitude distinguished them by that of *Turlupins*, the origin and reason of which title I have not been able to learn [t]. Nothing carried a more shocking air of lunacy and distraction than their external aspect and manners. They ran from place to place clothed in the most singular and fantastic apparel, and begged their bread with wild shouts and clamours, rejecting with horror every kind of industry and labour, as an obstacle to divine contemplation, and to the ascent of the soul towards the Father of spirits. In all their excursions they were followed by women, with whom they lived in the most intimate familiarity [u]. They distributed among the people books, which contained the substance of their doctrine, held nocturnal assemblies in places remote from public view, and seduced many from frequenting the ordinary institutions of divine worship.

X. These *brethren*, who gloried in the freedom which they pretended to have obtained, *through the spirit*, from the dominion and obligation of the *law*, adopted a certain rigid and fantastic system of *Mystic theology*, built upon as a treasure of divine wisdom and doctrine. As I cannot expose here these records to the examination of the curious reader, I beg leave to refer him to a long and ample edict issued out against these *Brethren* by HENRY I, archbishop of *Cologne*, and published in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, A. 1554. p. 58. This edict is, in every respect, conformable to those published, on the same occasion, at *Mentz*, *Aschaffenburg*, *Paderborn*, *Beziars*, *Triers*, and other places.

The mystical doctrines of this sect.

[t] Many have written, but none with accuracy and precision, concerning the *Turlupins*. See BEAUSOBRE's *Dissertation sur les Adamites*, part II. p. 384. where that learned author has fallen into several errors, as usually happens to him when he treats subjects of this kind. I know not the origin of the word *Turlupin*, but I am able to demonstrate by the most authentic records, that the persons so called, who were burnt at *Paris* and in other parts of *France*, were no other than the *Brethren of the free spirit*, who were condemned by the Roman pontiffs, and also by various councils.

[u] Hence they were called, in *Germany*, *Schwesfricnes*, as appears by the decrees of several councils.

pretended

C E N T. pretended philosophical principles, which carried a
 XIII. striking resemblance of the impious doctrines of the
 PART II. *Pantheists*. For they held, "That all things flowed by
 "emanation from God, and were finally to return to
 "their divine source: that rational souls were so many
 "portions of the Supreme Deity, and that the universe,
 "considered as one great whole, was God: that every
 "man, by the power of contemplation, and by calling off
 "his mind from sensible and terrestrial objects, might be
 "united to the Deity in an ineffable manner, and be-
 "come one with the Source and Parent of all things:
 "and that they, who, by long and assiduous meditation,
 "had plunged themselves as it were, into the *abyss* of
 "the divinity, acquired thereby a most glorious and
 "sublime liberty, and were not only delivered from
 "the violence of sinful lusts, but even from the com-
 "mon instincts of nature." From these and such like
 doctrines, the *brethren* under consideration drew this
 impious and horrid conclusion, "That the person who
 "had ascended to God in this manner, and was absorb-
 "ed by contemplation in the abyss of Deity, became
 "thus a part of the godhead, commenced God, was the
 "Son of God in the same sense and manner that CHRIST
 "was, and was thereby raised to a glorious independ-
 "ence, and freed from the obligation of all laws human
 "and divine." It was in consequence of all this, that
 they treated with contempt the ordinances of the gospel,
 and every external act of religious worship, looking upon
 prayer, fasting, baptism, and the sacrament of the Lord's
 supper, as the first elements of piety adapted to the state
 and capacity of children, and as of no sort of use to the
perfect man, whom long meditation had raised above all
 external things, and carried into the bosom and essence
 of the Deity [w].

[w] It may not be improper to place here a certain number of sentences
 translated faithfully from several of the more secret books of these Heretics.
 The following will be sufficient to give the curious reader a full idea of their
 impiety.

Every pious and good man is the only begotten son of God, whom
 God engendered from all eternity: (for these Heretics maintained, that
 what the scriptures taught concerning the distinction of *Three Persons*
 in the divine nature, is by no means to be understood literally, and

XI. Among

XI. Among these Fanatics there were several persons of eminent probity, who had entered into this sect with the most upright intentions, and who extended that liberty of the spirit, which they looked upon as the privilege of true believers, no farther than to an exemption from the duties of external worship, and an immunity from the positive laws of the church. The whole of religion was placed by this class of men in internal devotion, and they treated with the utmost contempt the rules of monastic discipline, and all other external rites and institutions as infinitely beneath the attention of the perfect. Nor were their exhortations and their examples without effect; for about the middle of this century they persuaded a considerable number of monks and devout persons, in Swabia, to live without any rule, and to serve God in the liberty of the spirit, which was the most acceptable service that could be presented to the Deity [x]. The inquirers therefore explained it according to the principles of their mystical and fantastic system.)

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Among these heretics there were some that distinguished themselves by their eminent probity, and others that were licentious in an infamous degree.

All created things are non-entities or nothing: I do not say that they are small and minute; but that they are absolutely nothing.

There is in the soul of man something that is neither created, nor susceptible of creation, and that is, rationality, or the power of reasoning.

God is neither good, nor better, nor best: whosoever therefore calls the Deity good, does as foolishly as he who calls an object black, which he knows to be white.

God still engenders his only begotten son, and begets still the same son, whom he had begotten from eternity. For every operation of the Deity is uniform and one; and therefore he engenders his son without any division.

What the scriptures say concerning Christ is true of every good, of every divine man. And every quality of the divine nature belongs equally to every person, whose piety is genuine and sincere.

To these horrid passages we may add the following sentences, in which JOHN, bishop of Strasbourg, (in an edict he published against the Brethren of the free spirit or Beghards, in the year 1317, the Sunday before the feast of the assumption of the Virgin MARY) discovers farther the blasphemous doctrines of this impious sect. *Deus (say these Heretics) est formaliter omne quod est. Quilibet homo perfectus est Christus per naturam. Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum præcepta ecclesiæ data à Deo. Multa sunt poetica in evangelio, quæ non sunt vera, et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima sua Deo junctis profectis, quam evangelio, &c.*

[x] See MART. CRUSIUS, *Annal. Suevicorum*, part III. lib. ii. cap. xiv. ad A. 1261, p. 99. edit. Vet.—This author has taken his materials from Felix Faber, an impartial writer.

sitors,

C E N T. sitors, however, stopped these poor enthusiasts in the
 XIII. midst of their career, and committed several of them to
 PART II. the flames, in which they expired, not only with the most
 unclouded serenity, but even with the most triumphant
 feelings of cheerfulness and joy.

But there were among these *Brethren of the free spirit* another class of Fanatics very different from these now mentioned, and much more extravagant, whose system of religion was as dangerous, as it was ridiculous and absurd, since it opened a door to the most licentious manners. These wretched enthusiasts maintained, that, by continual contemplation, it was possible to eradicate all the instincts of nature out of the *heaven-born* mind, and to introduce into the soul a certain divine stupor, and holy apathy, which they looked upon as the great characteristics of Christian perfection. The persons who adopted these sentiments, took strange liberties in consequence of their pretended sanctity, and shewed, indeed, by their conduct, that they had little regard to external appearances; for they held their secret assemblies stark naked, and lay in the same beds with their spiritual sisters, or, indiscriminately, with other women, without the smallest scruple or hesitation. This shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption, as the characters of a soul that was still under the dominion of the sensual, animal, and lascivious spirit, and that was not, as yet, re-united to the divine nature, its center and source. And they considered, as at a fatal distance from the Deity, all such as either felt the carnal suggestions of nature, or were penetrated with warm emotions at the view or approach of persons of a different sex, or were incapable of vanquishing and suppressing the rising fervor of lust and intemperance [y].

[y] Certain writers, whose principal zeal is employed in the defence of these heretics, and who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle age, separated themselves from the communion of the church of *Rome*, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely these impious doctrines to the *Brethren of the free spirit*, with a view to blacken these pious men, and to render them odious. But this suspicion is entirely groundless; and the account of this matter, which we have

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There were moreover, in this fanatical troop, certain enthusiasts, who far surpassed in impiety the two classes we have been now mentioning, who abused the system and doctrines of the sect, so as to draw from them an apology for all kinds of wickedness, and who audaciously maintained, that the *divine man*, or the believer, who was intimately united to God, *could not sin*, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious. This execrable doctrine was not, indeed, explained in the same manner by all the *Brethren of the free spirit* that were so outrageous as to adopt it. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no relation at all to the soul, which, by its union with God, was blended with the divine nature: others fell into a notion infinitely injurious to the Supreme Being, and maintained, that the propensities and passions that arose in the soul of the *divine man* after his union with the Deity, were the propensities and affections of God himself, and were therefore, notwithstanding their apparent deformity and opposition to the law, holy and good, seeing that the Supreme Being is infinitely exalted above all law and all obligation [z]. It is ne-

given in the text, is conformable to the strictest truth. The inquisitors have been less fabulous in their accusations of these heretics, than many are apt to imagine. They acknowledge that the *Beghards*, though destitute of shame, were not chargeable, generally speaking, with a breach of the duties of chastity and abstinence. They were indeed of opinion, that this firmness and insensibility of heart, which rendered them proof against female charms and deaf to the voice of nature, was a privilege granted them by the devil. For they adopted the opinion of honest NIEDER, (*Formicar. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346.*) and affirmed, that it was in the power of that evil spirit to render men cold, and to extinguish the warm and lascivious solicitations of nature; and that Satan wrought this miracle upon his friends and adherents, in order to procure them a high reputation of sanctity, and make them appear superior in virtue to the rest of mankind. *Credo* (saith NIEDER, who was both a Dominican and an inquisitor) *quosdam ex eis dæmonis opere affectus fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ . . . Facillimum enim est dæmonibus infrigidare.*

[z] This account will be confirmed by the following passage faithfully translated from the famous book of the *Nine Rocks*, written originally in German: *Moreover the divine man operates and engenders whatever the Deity operates and engenders. For in God he produced and formed the heavens and the earth. He is also the father of the eternal word. Neither could God produce any thing without this divine man, who is therefore obliged to render his will*

cessary

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cessary to observe, before we leave this subject, that flagitious and impious impostors mingled themselves sometimes with this sect, and took the name of *Beghards*, that by a feigned piety they might impose upon the multitude, and deceive the simple into their snares [a].

conformable to the will of God, that so whatsoever may be agreeable to the Deity, may be agreeable to him also. If therefore it be the will of God that I should commit sin, my will must be the same, and I must not even desire to abstain from sin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is well and truly united to God, may have committed a thousand mortal sins, he ought not even to wish that he had not committed them; nay, he should rather die a thousand deaths than omit one of these mortal sins. Hence the accusation brought by the inquisitors against this impious sect, whom they reproach with maintaining, that the sin of a man united to God, is not sin, since God works in him and with him whatever he does. HENRY SUSO, a Dominican monk, and one of the most celebrated Mystic writers, composed, in the following century, another *Book concerning the Nine Rocks*, which is to be found in the edition of his works published by LAURENT. SURIUS. But this book is entirely different from that, which was in such high esteem among the *Beghards*, though it bears the same title. The latter is of much older date, and was in vogue in Germany, among the *Brethren of the free spirit*, long before Suso was born. There fell some time ago into my hands an ancient manuscript, composed in Alsace, during the fifteenth century, and containing an account of various *Revelations and Visions of that age*. In this manuscript I found a piece entitled, *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam super revelatione Carthusiano cuidam de Ecclesie per gladium reformatione, Leodii, A. 1453, facta*; and almost in the beginning of this declaration the following passage relating to the *Book of the Nine Rocks*: *Homo quidam devotissimus, licet Laicus, Librum de novem Rupibus conscripsit à Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad presens pertinentia continentur de Ecclesie renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione*. These *Nine Rocks* signified, according to the fanatical doctrine of this wrong-headed sect, the different steps by which the divine man ascended to the Deity.

[a] The founder of this famous sect, the place of its origin, and the precise date of its first appearance, are not known with any degree of certainty. I have actually in my possession *Eighty-nine Sentences of the Beghards*, vulgarly called *Schweftrones*, but who style themselves *Brethren of the sect of the Free Spirit and of voluntary Poverty, with a Refutation of the said Sentences*, written at *Worms* towards the conclusion of this century by some one or other of the inquisitors. The 79th of these sentences runs thus: *To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said, that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere*. From these words it appears evident, that *Rhetia* was the place, where the church of the *Brethren of the free spirit* was fixed and established, and that from this province they passed into Germany. I am not however of opinion, that this sect had its first rise in that province; but am rather inclined to think, that *Italy* was its country, and that, being driven

XII. The famous AMALRIC, native of *Bene*, and C E N T. XIII. professor of logic and theology at *Paris*, whose bones PART II. were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209, although he had abjured his errors before his death, and a considerable number of whose disciples and followers were committed to the flames on account of their absurd and pernicious doctrine, was, undoubtedly, of the same way of thinking with the sect whose opinions we have been now considering [b]. For though the writers of this barbarous age have given very different and confused accounts of this man's opinions, and even attributed some doctrines to him which he never maintained, it is nevertheless certain, that he taught, that all things were the parts of one substance, or, in other words, that the universe was God, and that not only the *forms* of all things, but also their *matter* or substance, proceeded from the Deity, and must return to the source from whence they were derived [c]. From these absurd and blasphemous

from thence, it took refuge in *Rhetia*. Nor is it at all improbable, that *Italy*, which saw so many religious factions arise in its bosom, was also the nursing mother of this blasphemous sect. We shall be almost fully confirmed in this opinion when we consider that, in a long letter from CLEMENT V to RAINIER bishop of *Cremona* (published by ODOR. RAYNALDUS *Annal*, tom. xv. A. 1311, n. 66. p. 90.) the zealous pontiff exhorts that prelate to suppress and extirpate, with all his might, the sect of the Brethren of the free spirit, which was settled in several parts of *Italy*, and particularly in the province of *Spoletto* and the countries adjacent. Such are the terms of the pontiff's letter; *in nonnullis Italiae partibus, tam Spoletanae provinciae, quam circumjacentium regionum.*

[b] This did not escape the notice of the enemies of the Beghards, or Brethren of the free spirit, in *Germany*, much less that of the Inquisitors, who, in their *Refutation of the 89 Sentences of the Beghards* mentioned in the preceding note, express themselves thus: (*Sententia 68.*) *Dicere quod omnis creatura est Deus, haeresis Alexandri * est, qui dixit, materiam primam et Deum et Hominem, hoc est mentes, esse in substantia, quod postea quidam David de Dinanto sequutus est, qui temporibus nostris de hac haeresi de Francia fugatus est, et punitus fuisset, si deprehensus fuisset.*

[c] The account given by FLEURY, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, of the opinions of AMALRIC, is very different from that which is here given by Dr. MOSHEIM. The former observes, that AMALRIC, or AMAURI, taught that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and that without this belief none could be saved, and he observes also that his disciples introduced errors still more pernicious, such as the following: "That

* The person here mentioned is ALEXANDER, the Epicurean, of whom PLUTARCH speaks in his *Symposium*.

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mous principles he deduced that chimerical system of fanatical devotion, which we have already exposed to the view of the reader, pretended to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship, as insignificant and useless. The disciples of this enthusiast were men of exemplary piety, were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost resolution and constancy. One of the most eminent among these was DAVID of *Dinant*, a Parisian doctor, who usually expressed the fundamental principle of his master in the following proposition: *God is the primary matter or substance of all things*. He composed a work entitled, *Quaternarii*, with several other productions, which were chiefly designed to affect and gain the multitude: but, after all, was obliged to save himself by flight [d]. The bishops, assembled in council at *Paris* in the year 1209, considered the philosophy of ARISTOTLE as the source of all these impious doctrines, and, on that account, prohibited the reading, or explaining, either in public or private, the metaphysical, and other productions of the Grecian sage [e].

“ the power of the Father had continued only during the Mosaic dispensation, that of the Son 1200 years after his entrance upon earth, and that, in the thirteenth century, the age of the Holy Spirit commenced, in which the sacraments and all external worship were to be abolished; that there would be no resurrection; that heaven and hell were mere fictions;” and many more sentiments of that nature, which, as the learned SPANHEIM † imagines, were falsely imputed to AMALRIC, in order to render his memory odious, because he had opposed the worship of saints and images. See FLEURY, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* livr. lxxvi. § lix.—Dr. MOSHEIM looks upon AMALRIC to have been a Pantheist, and many men of eminent learning are of this opinion. See among others JOH. GERSON apud JAC. THOMASII, and also BRUCKER’s *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. iii. p. 688.

[d] See MARTENE, *Tresaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 163. where there is an account of the heresies, for which several priests were burnt at *Paris* in the year 1209.—NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccl. Sac.* xiii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76.—DU BOIS, *Historia Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 244.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 24. 48. 53.—JAC. THOMASII, *De Exustione Mundi Stoica*, p. 199.

[e] LAUNOIUS, *De varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Paris.* p. 127.

† See SPANHEMII *Hist. Eccles. Sac.* xxii. p. 1694.

XIII. If

XIII. If we may depend upon the accounts given by C E N T. XIII. PART II. certain writers, AMALRIC and his followers received with the utmost docility and faith the predictions, attributed to JOACHIM abbot of *Flora*, concerning the re-Joachim. Wilhelmina.formation that was soon to be brought about in the church by the power of the sword, the approaching *Age of the Holy Ghost* that was to succeed those of the Father and the Son, and other things of that nature, which raised the hopes and occupied the thoughts of the *Spiritual* Franciscans. Whether these accounts may be depended upon or not, we shall not determine. To us they appear extremely doubtful. It is, however, true, that certain persons were so far deluded by these pretended prophecies, as to form new sects with a view to their accomplishment, and to declare war against the established church, its system of doctrine, and its forms of worship. Among other fanatical sectaries, there arose one of a most extraordinary kind, a Bohemian woman named *Wilhelmina*, who resided in the territory of *Milan*. This delirious and wrong-headed woman, having studied with attention the predictions concerning the *Age of the holy Ghost*, was extravagant enough to persuade herself, and, what is still more amazing, had influence enough to persuade others, that the holy Ghost was become *incarnate* in her person, for the salvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine, "None were saved
" by the blood of JESUS, but true and pious Christians;
" while the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy Christians
" were to obtain salvation through the holy spirit which
" dwelt in her, and that, in consequence thereof, all
" that had happened to CHRIST, during his appearance
" upon earth in the human nature, was to be exactly
" renewed in her person, or rather in that of the holy
" Ghost, which was united to her." This madwoman died at *Milan* in the year 1281, in the most fragrant odour of sanctity, and her memory was not only held in the highest veneration by her numerous followers and the ignorant multitude, but was also honoured with religious worship both in public and in private. Her sect, nevertheless, was discovered by the curious eye of persecution in the year 1300, and fell into the clutches of the

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inquisitors, who destroyed the magnificent monument that had been erected in her honour, had her bones raised and committed to the flames, and in the same fire consumed the chief leaders of this wretched faction, among which there were persons of both sexes [f].

XIV. It was upon predictions similar to those mentioned in the preceding section, that *the sect of the apostles* founded its discipline. The members of this sect made little or no alterations in the doctrinal part of the public religion; what they principally aimed at, was, to introduce among Christians the simplicity of the primitive times, and more especially the manner of life that was observed by the apostles. GERHARD SAGARELLI, the founder of this sect, obliged his followers to go from place to place as the apostles did, to wander about cloathed in white, with long beards, dishevelled hair, and bare heads, accompanied with women, whom they called their *Sisters*. They were also obliged to renounce all kinds of property and possessions, and to preach in public the necessity of repentance, while in their more private assemblies they declared the approaching destruction of the corrupt church of *Rome*, and the establishment of a purer service, and a more glorious church, that, according to the prophecies of the abbot JOACHIM, was to arise from its ruins. No sooner was the unhappy leader of this faction committed to the flames [g], than he was succeeded in that character by a bold and enterprising Fanatic, named DULCINUS, a native of *Novara*, who published his predictions with more courage and maintained them with more zeal than his predecessor had done, and who did not hesitate to declare that, in a short time, the Roman pontiff BONIFACE VIII, with the corrupt priests and the

[f] The Milanese historians, such as BERNARD, COREUS, and others, have related the adventures of this odd woman; but their accounts are very different from those given by the learned MURATORS, in his *Antiqq. Italicae medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 91. and which he has drawn from the judicial proceedings of the court, where the extraordinary case of this female fanatic was examined. We are informed by the same excellent author, that a learned writer, named PURICELLI, composed a history of WILHELMINA, and of her sect.

[g] This unhappy man was burnt alive at *Parma*, in the year 1300.

licentious

licentious monks, were to perish by the hand of the emperor FREDERIC III, son of PETER, king of Arragon, and that a new and most holy pontiff was to be raised to the head of the church. These visionary predictions were, no doubt, drawn from the dreams of the abbot JOACHIM, who is said to have declared, among other things, that an emperor called FREDERIC III was to bring to perfection what FREDERIC II had left unfinished. Be that as it may, DULCINUS appeared with intrepid assurance at the head of the *apostles*; and acting not only in the character of a prophet, but also in that of a general, he assembled an army to maintain his cause, and perhaps to accomplish, at least in part, his predictions. He was opposed by RAYNERIUS, bishop of *Vercelli*, who defended the interests of the Roman pontiff, and carried on, during the space of two years and more, a most bloody and dreadful war against this chief of the apostles. The issue of this contest was fatal to the latter, who, after several battles fought with obstinate courage, was at length taken prisoner, and put to death at *Vercelli* in the most barbarous manner in the year 1307, together with *Margaret*, whom he had chosen for his *Spiritual Sister*, according to the custom of his sect. The terrible end of DULCINUS was not immediately followed by the downfall of his sect, which still subsisted in *France*, *Germany*, and in other countries, and stood firm against the most vehement efforts of its enemies until the beginning of the xvth century, when, under the pontificate of BONIFACE IX, it was totally extirpated [b].

XV. This famous JOACHIM, abbot of *Flora*, whose fanatical predictions turned the heads of so many well-

[b] I composed in the German language an accurate history, in three books, of this famous sect, which is very little known in our times, and I have in my hands materials, that will furnish an interesting addition to that history. That this sect subsisted in *Germany*, and in some other countries, until the pontificate of BONIFACE IX, is evident from the *Chronicle* of HERMAN CORNERUS, published by Jo. GEORGE ECCARD, in his *Corpus Historicum mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906. and may be sufficiently demonstrated by other authentic testimonies. In the year 1402, a certain member of this apostolical sect, whose name was WILLIAM, or WILHELMUS, was burnt

C E N T.
XIII.
P A R T II.

A true account of the heresy that was imputed to Joachim.

meaning people, and excited them to attempt reforming the church by the sword, and to declare open war against the Roman pontiffs, did not fall under the suspicion of heresy on account of these predictions, but in consequence of a new explication he had given of the doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the godhead. He had in an elaborate work attacked very warmly PETER LOMBARD, the master of the sentences, on account of the distinction this latter writer had made between the *divine essence*, and the *three persons* in the godhead; for JOACHIM looked upon this doctrine as introducing a *fourth* object, even an *essence*, into the Trinity. But the good man was too little versed in metaphysical matters, to carry on a controversy of such a subtle nature, and he was betrayed by his ignorance so far as to advance inconsiderately the most rash and exceptionable tenets. For he denied that there was any thing, or any *essence*, that belonged in common to the three persons in the Trinity, or was jointly possessed by them; by which doctrine the *substantial* union between the three persons was taken away, and the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was reduced from a *natural, simple, and numerical* unity, to a *moral* one only; that is, to such a unity as reigns in the councils and opinions of different persons, who embrace the same notions, and think and act with one accord. This explication of the Trinity was looked upon by many as very little different from the Arian system; and therefore the Roman pontiff, INNOCENT III, pronounced, in the year 1215, in the council of the Lateran, a damnatory sentence against the doctrine of JOACHIM, which sentence, however, did not extend to the person or fame of the abbot himself. And, indeed, notwithstanding this papal sentence, JOACHIM has at this day a considerable number of adherents and defenders, more especially among those of the Franciscans, who are called *Observants*. Some of these maintain that the book of this abbot was corrupted and interpolated by his enemies,

alive at Lubeck. See CORNERUS, *loc. cit.* p. 1185. The Germans, who were accustomed to distinguish by the name of *Beghards* all those who pretended to extraordinary piety, and sought, by poverty and begging, an eminent reputation for sanctity and virtue, gave this title also to the sect of the *Apollites*.

while

while the rest are of opinion that his doctrine was not
thoroughly understood by those that opposed it [i].

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PART II.

[i] See DAN. PAPERBROCHIIUS, *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, Prophetiis, Doctrina, B. Joachimi*, in *Actis Sanctorum, Maii*, tom. vi. p. 486. which contains *The Life of Joachim*, and several other pieces of consequence. See also NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xiii. Diff. ii.* p. 331.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 6.

T H E
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

P A R T I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the Church during this century.

CENT. I.
XIV.
PART I.

Fruitless at-
tempts to
renew the
crusades.

SEVERAL attempts were made by the monarchs and princes of the west, set on by the instigation of the Roman pontiffs, to renew the war in *Palestine* against the Turks and Saracens, and to deliver the whole province of *Syria* from the oppressive yoke of these despotic Infidels. The succession of pontiffs that resided at *Avignon* were particularly zealous for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion unemployed, that could have the least tendency to engage the kings of *England* and *France* in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal; and notwithstanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something still happened to prevent their producing the desired effect. CLEMENT V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardor in the years 1307, 1308, and set apart an immense sum of money for carrying it on with alacrity and vigour [a]. JOHN XXII ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to

[a] BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 15. 594. tom. ii. p. 55. 57. 374. 391, &c. ANT. MATTHEI *Analec̃ta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 577.

transport

transport an army of pious adventurers into *Palestine* [b],^{C E N T. XIV. PART I.} and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of *indulgences*, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprize. These *indulgences* he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in *Europe* that were subject to his ghostly jurisdiction. But, under this fair shew of piety and zeal, JOHN is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views; and we find LEWIS of *Bavaria*, who was at that time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition [c]; and indeed the character of this pope was proper to give credit to such complaints. Under the pontificate of BENEDICT XII, a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by PHILIP DE VALOIS, king of *France*, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in *Palestine* [d]; but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from *England* obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprize. In the year 1345, CLEMENT V, at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of *indulgences*, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for *Smyrna*, where they composed a numerous army under the command of GUIDO or GUY, dauphin of *Vienne*; but the want of provisions obliged this army to return with their general into *Europe* in a short time after their departure [e]. This disappointment did not, however, damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of URBAN V, and was to be employed in a new expedition against the Infidels, with JOHN, king of *France*, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project,

[b] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 125. tom. ii. p. 515.

[c] BALUZIUS *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 175. 786.—MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.

[d] BALUZIUS, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 200.

[e] *Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 368.

and

C E N T. and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body
XIV. which had repaired to his standards [f].

PART I.

The state of
Christianity
in China and
Tartary.

II. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into *China*, *Tartary*, and the adjacent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of Christian churches in these unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, CLEMENT V erected *Cambalu* (which at this time was the celebrated metropolis of *Cathay*, and is, undoubtedly, the same with *Peking*, the capital city at present of the Chinese empire) into an archbishopric, which he conferred upon JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after to assist this prelate in his pious labours seven other bishops of the Franciscan order [g]. JOHN XXII exerted in this good cause the same zeal which had distinguished the pontificate of his predecessors. Upon the death of JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO, in the year 1330, he sent NICOLAS of *Bentra* to fill the vacant archbishopric of *Cambalu*, and charged him with letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who, at that time, was in possession of the Chinese dominions. In the year 1338, BENEDICT XII sent new legates and missionaries into *Tartary* and *China*, in consequence of a solemn embassy [h] with which he was honoured at *Avignon* from the Kan of the Tartars. During the time that the princes of this latter nation maintained themselves in the empire of *China*, the Christian religion flourished in these vast regions, and both Latins and Nestorians not only made a public profession of their faith, but also propagated it without any apprehension of danger, throughout the northern provinces of *Asia*.

[f] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366. 386. 371. 401.

[g] WADDING. *Annal. Ordin. Minor.* tom. vi. ad A. 1305, § xii. p. 69. ad A. 1307, p. 91. 368. tom. vii. p. 53. 221. tom. viii. p. 235.—J. S. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. § ii. p. 521.—J. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 537.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Januarii*, p. 984.—MOSHEMII *Historia Eccles. Tartar.*

[h] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontificum Avenionensium*, tom. i. p. 242.

III. There

III. There remained in this century scarcely any European prince, unconverted to Christianity, if we except JAGELLO, duke of *Lithuania*, who continued in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, until the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, received in baptism the name of VLADISLAUS, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the divine light of the gospel. We shall not pretend to justify the purity of the motives that first engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied, at least, with views of policy, interest, and ambition. Upon the death of LEWIS, king of *Poland*, which happened in the year 1382, JAGELLO was named among the competitors who aspired after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretensions and efforts with a favorable eye. His religion was the only obstacle that lay in his way to the accomplishment of his views. HEDWIGE, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a Pagan, and hence JAGELLO was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty [i]. On the other hand, the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism that were yet to be found in *Prussia* and *Livonia*, and effected, by force, what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

We find also in the annals of this century a great many instances of Jews converted to the Christian faith. The cruel persecutions they suffered in several parts of *Europe*, particularly in *France* and *Germany*, vanquished their obstinacy, and bent their untractable spirits under the yoke of the gospel. The reports (whether false or true we shall not determine) that had been industriously spread abroad, of their poisoning the public fountains, of their killing infants and drinking their blood, of their profaning in the most impious and blasphemous manner the consecrated wafers that were used in the celebration of the eucharist, with other accusations equally enormous,

[i] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccles. ad A. 1386.* § iv.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor*, tom. ix. p. 71.—SOLIGNAC, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. iii. p. 241.

C E N T. excited every where the resentment of the magistrates and
 XIV. the fury of the people, and brought the most terrible suf-
 PART I. ferings, that unrelenting vengeance could invent, upon
 that wretched and devoted nation.

A scheme
 laid for the
 expulsion of
 the Saracens
 out of Spain. IV. The Saracens maintained, as yet, a considerable
 footing in *Spain*. The kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*,
 with the province of *Andalusia*, were subject to their do-
 minion; and they carried on a perpetual war with the
 kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*, in which, how-
 ever, they were not always victorious. The African
 princes, and particularly the emperors of *Morocco*, be-
 came their auxiliaries against the Christians. On the
 other hand, the Roman pontiffs left no means unem-
 ployed to excite the Christians to unite their forces against
 the Mahometans, and to drive them out of the Spanish
 territories; presents, exhortations, promises, in short,
 every allurements that religion, superstition, or avarice
 could render powerful, were made use of in order to the
 execution of this arduous project. The Christians, ac-
 cordingly, united their counsels and efforts for this end;
 and though for some time the difficulty of the enterprize
 rendered their progress but inconsiderable, yet even in
 this century their affairs carried a promising aspect, and
 gave them reason to hope that they should one day
 triumph over their enemies, and become sole possessors
 of the Spanish dominions [k].

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church
 during this century.*

The Christ-
 ian religion
 loses ground
 in Asia. I. THE Turks and Tartars, who extended their do-
 minions in *Asia* with an amazing rapidity, and
 directed their arms against the Greeks as well as against
 the Saracens, destroyed wherever they went the fruits

[k] See JO. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. iv, v. vii.—
Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii.
 p. 319. in which, however, there is a considerable mixture of truth and
 falsehood.—BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 267.

that

that had sprung up in such a rich abundance from the C E N T. labours of the Christian missionaries, extirpated the re-^{XIV.} ligion of JESUS in several provinces and cities where it ^{PART I.} flourished, and substituted the impostures of MAHOMET in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly professed the gospel, and still more had tolerated the exercise of that divine religion; but, from the beginning of this century, things put on a new face; and that fierce nation renounced every other religious doctrine, except that of the Alcoran. TIMUR BEG, commonly called TAMERLANE, their mighty emperor, embraced himself the doctrine of MAHOMET, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general [l]. This formidable warrior, after having subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, having triumphed over BAJAZET the emperor of the Turks, and even filled *Europe* with terror at the approach of his victorious arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of Christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compulsive power of violence and persecution, and treated the disciples of CHRIST with the utmost barbarity. Persuaded, as we learn from the most credible writers of his life and actions, that it was incumbent upon the true followers of MAHOMET, to persecute the Christians, and that the most ample and glorious rewards were reserved for such as were most instrumental in converting them to the Mahometan faith[m]; he employed the most inhuman acts of severity to vanquish the magnanimous constancy of those that persevered in their attachment to the Christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual slavery [n].

[l] This great TAMERLANE, whose name seemed to strike terror even when he was no more, adhered to the sect of the *Sonnites*, and professed the greatest enmity against their adversaries the *Schiites*. See PETIT CROIX, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 151. tom. iii. p. 228. It is however extremely doubtful, what was, in reality, the religion of TAMERLANE, though he professed the Mahometan faith. See MOSHEIM, *Hist. Eccles. Tartaror.* p. 124.

[m] PETIT CROIX, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 329. tom. iii. p. 137. 243, &c.

[n] Many instances of this we find in a *History of Timur-Bec*, wrote by a Persian, who was named SCHERFEDINUS, tom. ii. p. 376. 384. 386.

II. In

CENT.
XIV.
PART I.

The decline
of Christi-
anity in
China and
in *Tartary*.

II. In those parts of *Asia*, that are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations as yet less known, the Christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at least, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church residing in those countries later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciscan missionaries that had been sent thither from *Rome*. We have, indeed, some records, from which it would appear that there were Nestorians residing in *China* so far down as the sixteenth century [o]; but these records are not so clear in relation to this matter, as to remove all uncertainty and doubting. However that may be, it is evident beyond all contradiction, that the abolition of Christianity, in those remote parts of the world, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of GENGIS KAN was driven out of *China*, and his throne filled by the *Mim* family, who, by a solemn law, refused to all foreigners the privilege of entering into *China*.

tom. iii. p. 243. tom. iv. p. III. 115. 117. and published at *Delft*, in four volumes, 8vo, in the year 1723.—See also HEBELOT, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article TIMUR, p. 877.

[o] NICOL. TRIGAUTIUS, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116.—JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I. p. 592. & part II. p. 445. 536.—HALDE, *Description de la Chine*, tom. i. p. 173.

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. **T**HE Greeks, though dejected by the foreign CENT. XIV. and intestine calamities in which they were involved, were far from withdrawing their at- PART II. tention and zeal from the cause of literature, as is evident from the great number of learned men who flourished among them during this period. In this honourable class were NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, MANUEL CHRY- The state of letters among the Greeks. SOLORAS, MAXIMUS PLANUDES, and many others, who, by their indefatigable application to the study of humanity and antiquities, criticism and grammar, acquired considerable reputation. To omit writers of inferior note, THEODORUS METOCHILA, JOHN CANTACUZENUS, and NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, applied themselves to the composition of history, though with different success. Nor ought we to pass over in silence NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, who compiled an Ecclesiastical History, which, notwithstanding its being debased with idle stories and evident marks of superstition, is highly useful on account of the light it casts on many important facts.

II. As none of the sages in this century was adventurous enough to set up for a leader in philosophy, such The state of philosophy among the Greeks. of the Greeks as had a taste for philosophical researches adhered to ARISTOTLE, as their conductor and guide; but we may learn from the tracts of THEODORUS METOCHITA in what manner they explained the principles and tenets of the Stagirite. PLATO also had his followers, especially among those who were fond of mysticism, which had for many ages been held in the highest veneration by the Greeks. In the sublime sciences of mathematics

C E N T. mathematics and astronomy NICOLAS CABASILAS sur-
 XIV. passed all his contemporaries. BARLAAM adopted the
 PART II. sentiments and precepts of the Stoics with respect to the
 obligations of morality and the duties of life, and digested
 them into a work of his, which is known by the title of
Ethica ex Stoicis [q].

The state of
 learning a-
 mong the
 Latins.

III. In all the Latin provinces, schemes were laid and
 carried into execution with considerable success, for pro-
 moting the study of letters, improving taste, and dispel-
 ling the pedantic spirit of the times. This laudable
 disposition gave rise to the erection of many schools and
 academies, at *Cologn, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence,*
and Pisa, in which all the liberal arts and sciences,
 distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those
 places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent
 persons founded and amply endowed particular colleges in
 the public universities, in which, besides the monks,
 young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all
 the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected,
 and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and
 glory, by the prospect of honourable rewards. It must
 be confessed indeed that the advantages arising to the
 church and state, from so many professors and learned
 men, did not wholly answer the expence and care bestow-
 ed on this undertaking, by men of rank and fortune: yet
 we are by no means to conclude, as many have rashly
 done, that all the doctors of this age, who rose gradually
 from the lower to the higher and more honourable
 stations, were only distinguished by their stupidity and
 ignorance.

The state of
 languages.

IV. CLEMENT V, who was now raised to the ponti-
 ficate, ordered the Hebrew, and other oriental languages,
 to be taught in the public schools, that the church might
 never want a sufficient number of missionaries properly
 qualified to dispute with the Jews and Mahometans, and
 to diffuse the divine light of the gospel throughout the
 east [r]: in consequence of which appointment, some
 eminent proficient in these tongues, and especially in
 the Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek

[q] HENRICI CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405.

[r] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 156, 159.

language,

language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was CENT. X.V. PART II. now revived, and taught with general applause, first of all by LEONTIUS PILATUS, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon HOMER, and a few others [s], but afterwards, with far greater success and reputation, by MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS [t], a native of *Constantinople*. Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the restoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and justly-renowned PETRARCH held the first place [u], and DANTE ALIGHIERI the second. Full of this worthy design, they both acted as if they had received an extraordinary commission to promote the reign of true taste and the progress of polite learning; and their success was answerable to the generous ambition that animated their efforts; for they had many followers and admirers, not only among their countrymen, but also among the French and Germans.

V. The writings of this age furnish us with a long list of grammarians, historians, lawyers, and physicians, Of the other sciences. of which it would be easy to give a circumstantial account: but as it is quite foreign to our purpose, it will be sufficient to inform our readers that there were but few of this vast multitude, whose labours were in any great degree useful to society. Great numbers applied themselves to the study of the *civil* and *canon* law, because it was the readiest way to preferment both in church and state. Such as have any tolerable acquaintance with history, cannot be entire strangers to the fame of BARTOLUS, BALDUS, ANDREAS, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the universities

[s] See HUMPH. HODY, *De Græcis illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Literarum, que humaniorum instauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5. Londini 1742, in 8vo.—CALOGERA, *Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 258.

[t] HODY, *loc. cit.* lib. i. p. 10. —ANGELI CALOGERÆ *loc. cit.* p. 243. —and more especially CHRIST. FRID. BORNERI *Lib. de Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*.

[u] See JAC. PHIL. THOMASINI *vita Petrarchi* in Jo. GERH. MEUSCHEN *Vitæ claror. viror.* tom. iv. who in his Preface enumerates all the other writers of his life. Of the celebrated poet DANTE, several have treated, particularly his translator BENEVENUTUS of *Imola*, from whence MURATORIUS has borrowed large extracts in his *Antiquit. Ital. medi ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. f.

CENT. of Italy.
XIV.
PART II.

But after all, it is certain that the jurisprudence of this age was a most intricate disagreeable study, unenlivened either by history or language, and destitute of every allurements that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except Doctor THOMAS BRADWARDINE, the acute and learned archbishop of *Canterbury*, there were but few who acquired any reputation worth mentioning by this kind of study.

Of philosophy.

VI. The vast number of philosophers, who rather disgraced than adorned this century, looked upon ARISTOTLE as their infallible oracle and guide; though they stript him of all those excellencies that really belonged to him, and were incapable of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peripatetic philosophy, that, in order to diffuse the knowledge of it as widely as possible, even kings and emperors ordered the works of ARISTOTLE to be translated into the native language of their respective dominions. Among the most eminent of this class was CHARLES V, king of *France*, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of ARISTOTLE, to be translated into French by NICHOLAS ORESME [w]. Those, however, who professed themselves philosophers, instead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of disputation, which led them to perplex and deform the pure, simple doctrines of reason and religion, by a multitude of idle subtilties, trifling questions, and ridiculous distinctions. It is needless to enlarge on the barbarity of their phraseology, in which they supposed the whole strength of their art consisted; as also on that utter aversion to every branch of polite learning in which they foolishly gloried. Those who have a mind to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever else relates to this wrangling tribe, need only consult JOHN SCOTUS, or WALTER BULÆUS. But though they all followed one common track, there were several points on which they differed among themselves.

[w] Jo. LAUNOIVS, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. part I p. 504. —BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 379 —LE BOEUF, *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile, Par.* tom. iii. p. 456. 463. f.

VII. The old disputes between the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived with unextinguishable ardor, by an English Franciscan friar of the severer order, named WILLIAM OCCAM, who was a follower of the great SCOTUS, and a doctor of divinity at *Paris*. The Greeks and Persians never fought against each other with more hatred and fury, than these two discordant sects, whose angry disputations subsisted without any abatement, till the appearance of LUTHER, who soon obliged the scholastic divines to terminate their mutual wranglings, and to listen to terms of accommodation. The *Realists* despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, branding them with the name of *Moderns*, while, through a great mistake, they ascribed a very high antiquity to the tenets of their own party. The *Nominalists*, on the other hand, inveighed against them as a set of doating visionaries, who, despising substantial matters, were pursuing mere shadows. The *Nominalists* had the most eloquent, acute, and subtile doctors of *Paris* for their leaders, among whom, besides OCCAM, the famous JOHN BURIDAN [x] was very eminent: nevertheless, through the countenance given them by successive popes, the *Realists* prevailed. For when OCCAM joined the party of the Franciscan monks, who strenuously opposed JOHN XXII, that pope himself, and his successors after him, left no means untried to extirpate the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the interests of the church [y]: and hence it was, that, in the year 1339, the university of *Paris*, by a public edict, solemnly condemned and prohibited the philosophy of OCCAM, which was that of the *Nominalists* [z]. But, as it is natural for men to love and pursue what is for-

[x] ROB. GUAGINUS wrote a particular account of this famous man, as we learn from JO. LAUNOIUS, in his *Historia Gymnasii Navarrensi*, tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 722. see also p. 296, 297. 330. and BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 282. 307. 341, &c.

[y] STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

[z] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 257. tom. v. p. 708.—CAR. PLESS. D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, &c. see MOSHEIM.

CENT. bidden, the consequence was, that the party of the *Nominalists* flourished more than ever.

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Astrology
mingles it-
self with
the philoso-
phy of the
times, and
is considered
as magic.

VIII. Among the philosophers of these times, there were many who mingled astrology with their philosophy, *i. e.* the art of telling fortunes, by the aspect of the heavens, and the influence of the stars; and, notwithstanding the obvious folly and absurdity of this pretended science, all ranks of people, from the highest down to the lowest, were fond of it even to distraction. Yet, in spite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, these astrological philosophers, to avoid being impeached of witchcraft, and to keep themselves out of the hands of the inquisitors, were obliged to behave with great circumspection. The neglect of this caution was remarkably fatal to CECCUS ASCULANUS, a famous peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, and mathematician, first of all physician to pope JOHN XXII, and afterwards to CHARLES SINETERRA, duke of *Calabria*. This unhappy man having performed some experiments in mechanics, that seemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having also offended many, and among the rest his master, by giving out some predictions, which were said to have been fulfilled, was universally supposed to deal with infernal spirits, and burnt for it by the inquisitors at *Florence*, in the year 1337 [a]. There is yet extant a commentary of his upon the *Sphere of John de Sacrobosco*, otherwise named *Holywood*, which shews its author to have been deeply tainted with superstition [b].

The philo-
sophy of
Lully.

IX. RAYMUND LULLY was the author of a new and very singular kind of philosophy, which he endeavoured to illustrate and defend by his voluminous writings. He was a native of *Majorca*, and admirable for the extent and fecundity of his genius; yet, at the same time, a strange compound of reason and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and having per-

[a] PAUL ANTON. APPIANUS wrote a defence of this unhappy man, which is inserted in DOMEN. BERNINI *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, tom. iii. sæc. xiv. cap. iii. p. 210. f. We have also a further account of him in Jo. MARIA CRESCIMBENUS, *Commentari della volgar. Poesia*, vol. ii. part II. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

[b] GABR. NAUDÆUS, *Apologie pour les grands hommes qui ont été soupçonnez de Magie*, p. 270. f.

formed many voyages, and undergone various hardships to promote it, he was slain at *Bugia*, in *Africa*, in the year 1315, by the Mahometans, whom he was attempting to convert. The Franciscans, to whose third order it is said he belonged, extol him to the skies, and have taken great pains to persuade several popes to canonize him: while many on the contrary, and especially the Dominicans, inveigh bitterly against him, calling him a hare-brained chymist, a hot-headed fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler of the works of the more learned Mahometans. The popes entertained different opinions of him; some esteeming him a harmless pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruses the writings of LULLY without prejudice, will not be biassed by either of these parties. It is at least certain, that he would have been a great man, had the warmth and fertility of his imagination been tempered with a sound judgment [c].

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and government of the Church during this century.

I. **T**HE governors of the church in this period, from the highest to the lowest orders, were addicted to vices peculiarly dishonourable to their sacred character. We shall say nothing of the Grecian and Oriental clergy, who lived, for the most part, under a rigid, severe, and oppressive government, though they deserve their part in this heavy and ignominious charge. But with regard to the Latins our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion and the well-being of civil society. It is how-

The corrupt
state of the
clergy.

[c] See JOHN SALZINGER's Preface to RAYMUND LULLY's Works, which JOHN WILLIAM, elector *Palatine*, caused to be collected at a great expence, and to be published, in 1720, in five folio volumes. LUC. WAD-
DINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 421. tom. v. p. 157. 316. tom. vi. p. 229.
Concerning the famous invention of LULLY, see DAN. GEORG. MORHO-
RIUS, *Polybistoire*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352. f.

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ever necessary to observe, that there were, even in these degenerate times, several pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in its head and members, as they used to express themselves [d]. Laudable as these desires undoubtedly were, many circumstances concurred to prevent their accomplishment; such as the exorbitant power of the popes, so confirmed by length of time that it seemed immoveable, the excessive superstition that enslaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every spark of truth was stifled, as it were, in its very birth. Yet, firm and lasting as the dominion of the Roman pontiffs seemed to be, it was gradually undermined and weakened, partly by the pride and rashness of the popes themselves, and partly by several unexpected events.

Philip king
of France
opposes the
papal tyrany.

II. This important change may be dated from the quarrel which arose between BONIFACE VIII, who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and PHILIP the Fair, king of France. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe, that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding many crowned heads had attempted it without success. BONIFACE sent PHILIP the haughtiest letters imaginable, in which he asserted, that the king of France, with all other kings and princes whatsoever, were obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in that famous bull, *unam sanctam*, which he published about this time, asserted that JESUS CHRIST had granted a twofold power to his church, or, in other words, the spiritual and temporal sword; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and

[d] MATT. FLACIUS, *Catalogo testium veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. JO. LAUNOIUS, *De varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217. JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Historia Eccles. Sæc. xiv.* p. 754.

stood excluded from all possibility of salvation [e]. The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered WILLIAM DE NOGARET, a celebrated lawyer [f], to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with *heresies*, *simony*, and many other vices, demanding, at the same time, an œcumenical council to depose such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

III. PHILIP, shortly after he received his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this he sent WILLIAM DE NOGARET, with some others, into *Italy*, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and then to convey him to *Lyons*, where the king was determined to hold the abovementioned council. NOGARET, being a resolute active man, soon drew over to his assistance the powerful family of the COLONNAS, then at variance with the pope, levied a small army, seized BONIFACE, who lived in perfect security at *Anagni*, and as soon as he had got him into his power treated him in the most shocking manner, carrying his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of *Anagni* rescued him out of the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to *Rome*, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him [g].

[e] This bull is yet extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun. lib. i. tit. De majoritate et obedientia.*

[f] Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before LUTHER, none have given us a fuller account than the Benedictine monks. *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 114. 117. f. PHILIP made him chancellor of *France* for his resolute opposition against the pope.

[g] See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII, Bened. XI, Clement. V, et Philippum Pulchrum*, published, A. D. 1614. by PETER PUTEANUS.—ADR. BAILLET, *Hist. de Demelez du Boniface VIII, avec Philippe de Bel*, printed at *Paris*, in 4to, in 1718.—JO. RUBEUS, in *Bonifacio*, cap. xvi. p. 137.—The other writers on this subject are mentioned by BAILLET, in his Preface, p. 9.—See also BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 4.

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The papal
residence re-
moved to
Avignon.

IV. BENEDICT XI, who succeeded him, and whose name before his accession to the papal chair was NICOLAS BOCCACINI, learned prudence by this fatal example, and pursued more moderate and gentle measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication that his predecessor had thundered out against the king of *France* and his dominions; but never could be prevailed upon to absolve NOGARET of his treason against the ghostly majesty of the pontificate. NOGARET, on the other hand, set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accusation that he had formerly brought against BONIFACE; and, in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. While this was transacting, BENEDICT died, A. D. 1304; upon which PHILIP, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of *Rome* for a French prelate BERTRAND DE GOT, archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June 1305. This step was so much the more necessary, in that the breach between the king and the court of *Rome* was not yet entirely healed, and, as NOGARET was not as yet absolved, might easily be renewed. Besides, the French monarch, inflamed with the desire of revenge, insisted upon the formal condemnation of BONIFACE by the court of *Rome*, the abolition of the order of *Templars*, and other concessions of great importance, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontiff, in whose zeal and compliance he could confide, as necessary to the execution of his designs. BERTRAND assumed the name of CLEMENT V, and, at the king's request, remained in *France*, and removed the papal residence to *Avignon*, where it continued during the space of seventy years. This period the Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity [b].

[b] For an account of the French popes, consult chiefly STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionensium*, published at *Paris* in two volumes 4to, in the year 1693. The reader may also peruse, but it must be with the ut-

V. There is no doubt, but that the continued residence of the popes in *France* greatly impaired the authority of the Roman see. For during the absence of the pontiffs from *Rome*, the faction of the *Gibellines*, their inveterate enemies, rose to a greater height than ever; insomuch, that they not only invaded and ravaged *St. Peter's patrimony*, but even attacked the papal authority, by their writings. This caused many cities to revolt from the popes: even *Rome* itself was the grand source and fomentor of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch, that the laws and decrees sent thither from *France* were publicly treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles [i]. The influence of this example was propagated from *Italy* through most parts of *Europe*; it being evident, from a vast number of instances, that the Europeans in general did not pay near so much regard to the decrees and thunders of the Gallic popes, as they did to those of *Rome*. This gave rise to various seditions against the pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even with the aid of the *inquisitors*, who exerted themselves with the most barbarous fury.

VI. The French pontiffs, finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by sedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpose they not only sold *indulgences* to the people, more frequently than they had formerly done, whereby they made themselves extremely odious to several potentates, but also disposed publicly of scandalous licences, of all sorts, at an excessive price. JOHN XXII was remarkably shrewd and zealous in promoting this abominable traffic; for, though he was not the first inventor of the *taxes and rules of the apostolical*

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The dimi-
nution of
the papal
authority.

New
schemes in-
vented by
the popes to
acquire
riches.

most caution, LONGUEVAL's *History of the Gallican Church*, and those who continued that work after his death. See more especially tom. xii. This jesuit, and his successors, have shewn great industry and eloquence in the composition of this history; but they, for the most part, artfully conceal the vices and enormities of the Roman pontiffs.

[i] See BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 290, 291. 301. 309. 323. and many other places.—MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 397. 401. 409, &c.—GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 280.

chancery,

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chancery, yet the Romish writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extensively profitable to the holy treasury [k]. It is certain, that the origin of the tribute paid to the popes under the name of *Annates*, and which is generally affirmed to have been first imposed by him, is of a much earlier date [l]. Besides the abuses now mentioned, these Gallic popes, having abolished the right of elections, arrogated to themselves a power of conferring all the offices of the church, whether greater or smaller, according to their fancy, by which they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also under their government that *reserves*, *provisions*, *expectatives*, and other impositions of the like odious nature, that had seldom or never been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all Europe with bitter complaints [m]. These complaints exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly JOHN XXII, CLEMENT VI, and GREGORY X, openly declared that they had reserved to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that sovereign authority and plenitude of power which CHRIST had conferred upon them, his vicars, to provide for them and dispose of them without exception [n]. It was by these and other such mean and selfish contrivances, which had no other end than the acquisition of riches, that these inconsiderate pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been visibly upon the decline from the time of BONIFACE.

[k] JO. CIAMPINUS, *De vicecancellario ecclesie Rom.* p. 39.—CAR. CHAIS, *Lectres sur les Jubiles*, tom. ii. p. 673. and others.

[l] BERNH. VAN ESPEN, *Jus Eccles. universale*, tom. ii. p. 376. BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 213.—GUIL. FRANC. BERTHIER, *Diff. sur les Annates*, tom. xii. *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic.* p. i.

[m] STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iii. p. 479. 518. *Ejus Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 60. 63. 65. 74. 154. 156. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. i. Append. p. 13. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202. BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911.

[n] BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873. tom. i. p. 285 311. 681. f. ANT. MATTHÆI *Analeſta vet. ævi.* tom. v. p. 249. f. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. 1208. *Histoire du droit Eccles. François*, tom. ii. p. 129. f.

VII. CLE-

VII. CLEMENT V was a mere creature of PHILIP the C E N T. Fair, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. WILLIAM DE NOGARET, the implacable enemy of BONIFACE VIII, notwithstanding he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause, and his own, against BONIFACE, even in the pope's court; an instance of assurance this, not easy to be paralleled. PHILIP insisted, that the dead body of BONIFACE should be dug up, and publicly burnt; but CLEMENT averted this infamy by his advice and intreaties, promising implicit obedience to the king in every thing else. In order therefore to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by BONIFACE, to grant the king a bounty of five years tithes, fully to absolve NOGARET of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance (which, however, he never performed), to restore the citizens of *Anagni* to their reputation and honour, and to call a general council at *Vienne* in the year 1311, in order to condemn the Templars, on whose destruction PHILIP was most ardently bent. In this council every thing was determined as the king thought proper. For CLEMENT, terrified by the melancholy fate of BONIFACE, durst not venture to oppose this intrepid and obstinate monarch [o].

VIII. Upon CLEMENT's death, which happened in the year 1314, many fierce contentions arose in the conclave about choosing a successor, the French cardinals insisting upon a French, and those of *Italy* demanding an Italian pope. After a contest, which continued two years, the French party prevailed, and, in the year 1316, elected JAMES DE EUSE, a native of *Cahors*, and cardinal bishop of *Porto*. He assumed the name of JOHN XXII, and had a tolerable share of learning, but was at the same time crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous, which is allowed even by those writers who, in other respects, speak well of him. He is deservedly censured

[o] Besides the common writers already cited, see GUIL. FRANC. BERTHIERII, *Discours sur le Pontificat de Clement V*, tom. iii. *Historiæ Eccles. Gallic.* COLONIA, *Hist. Litter. de Lyon*, tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Christiana Benedictæ*, tom. i. p. 1189. & tom. ii. p. 829.

CENT. on account of his temerity, and the ill success that attended him, through his own imprudence, in many of his enterprizes; but he is more especially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy war into which he entered against LEWIS of *Bavaria*. This powerful prince disputed the imperial throne of *Germany* with FREDERIC, duke of *Austria*; and they had been both chosen to that high dignity, in the year 1314, by their respective partisans among the electors and princes of the empire. JOHN took it for granted, that the decision of this contest came under his ghostly jurisdiction. But, in the year 1322, the duke of *Bavaria* having vanquished his competitor by force of arms, took upon him the administration of the empire without asking the pope's approbation, and would by no means allow, that their dispute, already determined by the sword, should be again decided by the judgment of the pope. JOHN interpreted this refusal as a heinous insult upon his authority, and, by an edict issued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But his impotent resentment was very little regarded; nay, he was even accused of heresy by the emperor, who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly exasperated by these and other deserved affronts, the pontiff presumes, in the year 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a second time, and even to publish a sentence of excommunication against the chief of the empire. This new mark of papal arrogance was severely resented by LEWIS, who, in the year 1328, published an edict at *Rome*, by which JOHN was declared unworthy of the pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies PETER DE CORBIERI, a Franciscan monk, who assumed the name of NICOLAS V, and crowned the emperor at *Rome* in a solemn and public manner. But, in the year 1330, this imperial pope voluntarily abdicated the chair of *St. Peter*, and surrendered himself to JOHN, who kept him in close confinement at *Avignon* for the rest of his days. Thus ended the contest between the duke of *Bavaria* and JOHN XXII, who, notwithstanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the possession of their respective dignities [p].

[p] The particulars of this violent quarrel may be learnt from the

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IX. The numerous tribes of the *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*,^{CENT.} and *Spiritual Franciscans*, adhered to the party of LEWIS.^{XIV.} Supported by his patronage, and dispersed throughout the ^{PART II.} greatest part of *Europe*, they attacked every where the reigning pontiff, as an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with the heaviest accusations and the bitterest invectives, both in their writings and in their ordinary conversation. These attacks did not greatly affect the pontiff, as they were made only by private persons, by a set of obscure monks, who, in many respects, were unworthy of his notice; but, towards the conclusion of his life, he incurred the disapprobation and censures of almost the whole Catholic church. For in the year 1331 and 1332, having asserted, in some public discourses, that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold CHRIST as man, but not the *face of God*, or the divine nature, before their reunion with the body at the last day, this doctrine highly offended PHILIP VI, king of *France*, was opposed by the pope's friends as well as by his enemies, and unanimously condemned by the divines of *Paris*, in the year 1333. This favourite tenet of the pope was thus severely treated, because it seemed highly prejudicial to the felicity of happy spirits in their unembodied state; otherwise the point might have been yielded to a man of his positive temper, without any material consequence. Alarmed by these vigorous proceedings, he immediately offered something

Records published by STEPH. BALUZ. in his Vita Pontif. Avenion. tom. ii. p. 512. f.—EDM. MARTENE, Thesaur. Anecdotor. tom. ii. p. 641. f.—JO. GEORG. HERWART, in Ludovico Imperatore defenso contra Bzovium, Monachii 1618, in 4to. et CHRIST. GEWOLD. in Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro, Ingoldstad 1618, in 4to. against the same BZOVIVS, who, in the Annals he had published, basely aspersed the memory of the emperor. See also LUC. WADDINGUS, in Annalib. Minor. tom. vii. p. 77. 106. f. &c. Whoever attentively peruses the history of this war, will perceive that LEWIS of Bavaria followed the example of PHILIP the Fair, king of France. As PHILIP brought an accusation of heresy against BONIFACE, so did LEWIS with respect to JOHN XXII. The French monarch made use of NOGARET and other accusers against the one pontiff. LEWIS employed OCCAM and the Franciscans in that quality against the other. Each of them insisted upon the assembling a general council, and upon the deposition of the pontiffs who had incurred their displeasure. I omit other circumstances that might be alledged to render the parallel more striking.

by

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by way of excuse for having espoused this opinion; and afterwards, in the year 1334, when he lay at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he, in some measure, softened it, by saying he believed that the unembodied souls of the righteous *beheld the divine essence as far as their separate state and condition would permit* [q]. This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor, BENEDICT XII, after many disputes had been held about it, put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state, did fully and perfectly contemplate the divine nature [r]. BENEDICT's publishing this resolution could be in no way injurious to the memory of JOHN; for when the latter lay upon his death-bed, he submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, that he might not be deemed a *heretic* after his decease [s].

Benedict
XII.

X. JOHN dying in the year 1334, new contentions arose in the conclave between the French and Italian cardinals about the election of a pope; but towards the end of the year they chose JAMES FOURNIER, a Frenchman, and cardinal of *St. Prisca*, who took the name of BENEDICT XII. The writers of these times represent him as a man of great probity, who was neither chargeable with that avarice, nor that ambition, that dishonoured so many of his predecessors [t]. He put an end to the

[q] See STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 175. 177. 182. 197. 221. 786, &c.—LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 760. *ed. Vet.*—JO. LAUNOII *Historia gymnas. Navarreni.* part I. cap. viij. p. 319. tom. iv. part I. opp.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 235. 250.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 371. tom. vii. p. 145.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 599. 608.

[r] BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 197. 216. 221. 224. 236.

[s] All this pope's heretical fancies about the *Beatific Vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, *viz.* five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in *specie*, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xciv. § xxxix.

[t] See the *Fragmenta Histor. Roman.* in MURATORII *Antiquit. Italic.*

papal quarrel with the emperor LEWIS: and though he did not restore him to the communion of the church, because prevented, as it is said, by the king of *France*, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He carefully attended to the grievances of the church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the mendicant, or more opulent orders; and died in the year 1242, while he was laying the most noble schemes for promoting a yet more extensive reformation. In short, if we overlook his superstition, the prevailing blemish of this barbarous age, it must be allowed that he was a man of integrity and merit.

XI. He was succeeded by a man of a quite different disposition, CLEMENT VI, a native of *France*, whose name was PETER ROGER, and who was cardinal of *St. Nereus* and *St. Achilles*, before his elevation to the pontificate. Not to insist upon the most exceptionable parts of this pontiff's conduct, we shall only observe that he trod faithfully in the steps of JOHN XXII, in providing for vacant churches and bishoprics, by reserving to himself the disposal of them, which shewed his sordid and insatiable avarice; that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of the highest consequence upon strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of *England* and *France*, and lastly, that by renewing the dissensions that had formerly subsisted between LEWIS of *Bavaria* and the Roman see, he displayed to the world his excessive vanity and ambition in the most odious colours. In the year 1343, he assailed the emperor with his thundering edicts; and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmost contempt, his rage augmented, and he not only threw out new maledictions, and published new sentences of excommunication against him, in the year 1346, but also excited the German princes to elect HENRY VII, son to CHARLES IV, emperor in his place. This violent measure would infallibly have occasioned a civil war in *Germany*, had it not been prevented by the death of

tom. iii. p. 275 —BALUZII *Vit. Pont. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 205. 218. 240, &c.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 253.

CENT. LEWIS, in the year 1347. CLEMENT did not long survive him, for he died in the year 1352, famous for nothing but his excessive zeal for extending the papal authority, and for his having added *Avignon*, which he purchased of JOAN, queen of *Naples*, to the patrimony of *St. Peter*.

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PART II.

Innocent VI.
Urban V.

XII. His successor, INNOCENT VI, whose name was STEPHEN ALBERT, was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and before his election had been bishop of *Ostia*. He died in the year 1362, after having governed the church ten years. His greatest blemish was that he promoted his relations with an excessive partiality, but in other respects he was a man of merit and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks closely to their duty, carefully abstained from *reserving churches*, and, by many good actions, acquired a great and deserved reputation. He was succeeded by WILLIAM GRIMOARD, abbot of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*, who took the name of URBAN V, and was entirely free from all the grosser vices, if we except those which cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity. This pope, being prevailed on by the entreaties of the Romans, returned to *Rome* in the year 1367, but, in 1370, he came back to *Avignon*, to reconcile the differences that had arisen between the kings of *England* and *France*, and died there the same year.

Gregory XI. XIII. He was succeeded by PETER ROGER, a French ecclesiastic of illustrious descent, who assumed the name of GREGORY XI, a man, who, though inferior to his predecessors in virtue, exceeded them far in courage and assurance. In his time *Italy* in general, and the city of *Rome* in particular, was distressed with most outrageous and formidable tumults. The Florentines carried on successfully a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state [u]. Upon which, GREGORY, in hopes of quieting the disorders of *Italy*, and also of recovering the cities and territories which had been taken from *St. Peter's*

[u] See, chiefly, COLUCII SALUTATI *Epistolæ*, written in the name of the Florentines, part I. p. 47—100. p. 148. 162. See also *Præfat.* ad part II. p. xviii. the new Florentine edition by LAUR, MEHUS.

patrimony, transferred the papal seat from *Avignon* to *Rome*, in the year 1376. To this he was in a great measure determined by the advice of one CATHERINE, a virgin of *Sens*, who, in this credulous age, was thought to be inspired with a spirit of prophecy, and made a journey to *Avignon* on purpose to persuade him to take this step [w]. It was not, however, long before GREGORY repented that he had followed her advice: for by the long absence of the popes from *Italy*, their authority was reduced to such a low ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to *Avignon*; but before he could execute his determination he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

XIV. After the death of GREGORY XI, the cardinals assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of *Rome*, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with many outrageous threatenings, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed BARTHOLOMEW DE PREGNANO, who was a Neapolitan, and archbishop of *Bari*, and assumed the name of URBAN VI. This new pontiff, by his unpolite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had made himself many enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. These latter therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from *Rome* to *Anagni*, and from thence to *Fondi*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*, where they elected to the pontificate ROBERT count of *Geneva*, who took the name of CLEMENT VII, and declared at the same time that the election of URBAN was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is, to this day, matter of doubt; nor will the records and writings, alledged by the contending parties,

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A great
schism arises
in the Ro-
mish church,

[w] See LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 159. 192.

C E N T. enable us to adjust that point with any certainty [x].
 XIV. URBAN remained at Rome: CLEMENT went to *Avignon*
 P A R T . II. in *France*. His cause was espoused by *France* and *Spain*,
Scotland, *Sicily*, and *Cyprus*, while all the rest of *Europe*
 acknowledged URBAN to be the true vicar of CHRIST.

Its bad con-
 sequences.

XV. Thus the union of the Latin church under one head was destroyed at the death of GREGORY XI, and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism* [y]. This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times is beyond all power of description: for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes was the true successor of CHRIST, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and in consequence of all this, many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one

[x] See the acts and documents in CÆS. EGASS. DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463. f.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor* tom. ix. p. 12. f.—STEPH. BALUZZI *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 442. 998. f. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. April, p. 728. I have also some documents never yet published, which throw great light upon this controversy, though they do not absolutely determine the point in dispute.

[y] An account of this dissension may be seen in PIERRE DU PUY, *Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'An 1378, jusqu'en l'An 1428*, which, as we are informed in the *Preface*, was compiled from the Royal Records of *France*, and is entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject LEWIS MAIMBOURG's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, though in general it be deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. A great many documents are to be met with in BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and also in EDM. MARTENE, *Thesauri Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as ALEXANDER, RAYNALD, BZOVIVS, SPONDANUS, and DU PIN.

could.

could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of CHRIST, were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepest distress of mind [z]. Nevertheless these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for by these dissensions the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the popes on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained and the interests of religion secured and promoted without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy.

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of URBAN VI, upon the death of that pope in the year 1389, set up for his successor, at *Rome*, PETER THOMACELLI, a Neapolitan, who took the name of BONIFACE IX, and CLEMENT VII, dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals raised to the pontificate PETER DE LUNA, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of BENEDICT XIII. During these transactions various methods were proposed and attempted for healing this melancholy breach in the church. Kings and princes, bishops and divines, appeared with zeal in this salutary project. It was generally thought that the best course to be taken in this matter was, what they then styled, the *Method of cession*: but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by intreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced solemnly, in a council held at *Paris* in the year 1397, all subjection and obedience to both pontiffs; and, upon the publication of this resolution in the year 1398, BENEDICT XIII, was, by the express orders of CHARLES VI, detained prisoner in his palace at *Avignon* [a].

[z] Concerning the mischievous consequences of this schism, we have a large account in the *Histoire du droit public Eccles. François*, tom. ii. p. 166. 293. 202. f.

[a] Besides the common historians, and LONGUEVAL's *Histoire de l'Eglise*

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PART II.

The enormities of the monks, especially of the Mendicants,

XVII. Some of the popes, and especially BENEDICT XII, were perfectly acquainted with the prevailing vices and scandalous conduct of the greatest part of the monks, which they zealously endeavoured to rectify and remove: but the disorder was too inveterate to admit of a cure. The *Mendicants*, and more especially the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, were at the head of the monastic orders, and were, indeed, become the heads of the church; so extensive was the influence they had acquired, that all matters of importance, both in the court of *Rome* and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on under their supreme and absolute direction. The multitude had such a high notion of the sanctity of these *sturdy beggars*, and of their credit with the Supreme Being, that great numbers of both sexes, some in health, others in a state of infirmity, others at the point of death, earnestly desired to be admitted into the *Mendicant* order, which they looked upon as a sure and infallible method of rendering heaven propitious. Many made it an essential part of their last wills, that their carcases, after death, should be wrapped in old, ragged Dominican or Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendicants. For such was the barbarous superstition and wretched ignorance of this age, that people universally believed they should readily obtain mercy from CHRIST, at the day of judgment, if they appeared before his tribunal associated with the Mendicant friars.

They fall under a general odium,

XVIII. The high esteem in which the Mendicant orders were held, and the excessive degree of authority they had acquired, only served to render them still more odious to such as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies, and the public universities. So universal was this odium, that there was scarcely a province or university in *Europe* in which bishops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who employed the power and authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the antient discipline of

Gallicane, tom. xiv. see the *Acts* of this council in BOULAY'S *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 829.

the

the church, and assuming to themselves a certain superintendence in religious matters. In *England*, the university of *Oxford* made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the Dominicans [b], while RICHARD, archbishop of *Armagh*, HENRY CRUMP, NORIS, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders with great vehemence and severity [c]. But RICHARD, whose animosity against them was much keener than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of INNOCENT VI, in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cause of the church against them with the greatest fervor, both in his writings and discourse, until the year 1360, in which he died [d]. They had also many opponents in *France*, who, together with the university of *Paris*, were secretly engaged in contriving means to overturn their exorbitant power: but JOHN DE POLLIAC set himself openly against them, publicly denying the validity of the absolution granted by the Dominicans and Franciscans to those who confessed to them, maintaining, that the popes were disabled from granting them a power of absolution by the authority of the canon, entitled, *Omnis utriusque sexus*; and proving from these premises, that all those, who would be sure of their salvation, ought to confess their sins to their own parish priests, even though they had been absolved by the monks. They suffered little or nothing, however, from the efforts of these numerous adversaries, being resolutely protected against all opposition, whether open or secret, by the popes, who regarded them as their best friends, and most effectual supports. Accordingly, JOHN XXII, by an extraordinary decree, condemned the opinions of JOHN DE POLLIAC, in the year 1321 [e].

[b] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150. 154. 196, &c.

[c] See WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 181, 182. tom. ii. p. 61, 62. —BALUZZI *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338. 950. —BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 336. —WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

[d] See SIMON, *Lettres Choïsies*, tom. i. p. 164. —I have in my possession a manuscript treatise of BARTHOLOMEW DE BRISAC, entitled, *Solutiones oppositæ Ricardi, Armachani episcopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et cardinalibus factis, Anno 1360.*

[e] See Jo. LAUNOIUS, *De Canone: Omnis utriusque Sexus*, tom. i. part I.

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PART II.

John Wick-
liiff.

orders, none has been transmitted to posterity with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than JOHN WICKLIFF, an English doctor, professor of divinity at *Oxford*, and afterwards rector of *Lutterworth*; who, according to the testimony of the writers of these times, was a man of an enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of RICHARD, archbishop of *Armagh*, he first of all defended the statutes and privileges of the university of *Oxford* against all the orders of the Mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of *Canterbury-Hall* in the university of *Oxford*, by SIMON LANGHAM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who substituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to pope URBAN V, who confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and, detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted, with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English these divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal. Though neither the doctrine of WICKLIFF was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it must be confessed that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and discipline of the church, were, in many respects, wise, useful, and salutary [*f*].

opp. p. 271. 274. 287, &c.—BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 10. & *Miscellanor.* tom. i. p. 153.—DACHERII *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 112. *f*.—It was published by EDM. MARTENE, in *Thesauro Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 1363. See also BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 132. 132, &c.

[*f*] A work of his was published at *Leipfic* and *Francfort* in 4to, in the

XX. The monks, whom WICKLIFF had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of GREGORY XI, who, in the year 1377, ordered SIMON SUDBURY, archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take cognizance of the affair in a council held at *London*.

Imminent as this danger evidently was, WICKLIFF escaped it by the interest of the duke of *Lancaster*, and some other peers, who had an high regard for him. And soon after the death of GREGORY XI, the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at *Rome*, and another at *Avignon*; so that of course this controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by WILLIAM DE COURTNEY, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence, in two councils held at *London* and *Oxford*. The event was, that of the twenty-three opinions, for which WICKLIFF had been prosecuted by the monks, ten were condemned as heresies, and thirteen as errors [g]. He himself, however, returned in safety to *Lutterworth*, where he died peaceably, in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got safely through it, whether by the interest of the court, or by denying or abjuring his opinions, is to this day a secret [h]. He left many followers in

year 1753, entitled, *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*, which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrine, yet shews sufficiently the spirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.

[g] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM says, that, of eighteen articles imputed to WICKLIFF, nine were condemned as *heresies*, and fifteen as *errors*. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an oversight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen heresies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by WILLIAM WODFORD, in a letter to ARUNDEL archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the twenty-three propositions that had been condemned by his predecessor COURTNEY at *London*, of which ten were pronounced *heretical*, and thirteen *erroneous*. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* ORTHUINI GRATII, published first at *Cologne*, by the compiler, in the year 1535, and afterwards at *London* in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments by the learned Mr. EDWARD BROWN. The letter of WODFORD is at full length in the first volume of this collection, p. 191.

[h] We have a full and complete *History of the Life and Sufferings of JOHN*

CENT. XIV. PART II. England, and other countries, who were styled *Wickliffites* and *Lollards*, which last was a term of popular reproach translated from the Flemish tongue into English. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the *inquisitors*, and other instruments of papal vengeance, and, in the council of *Constance*, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of WICKLIFF were condemned by a solemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

The impiety of the Franciscans.

XXI. Notwithstanding the Mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, to set bounds to their superstition, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majesty of the Supreme Being. The Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic frenzy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiously maintained, that the latter was a *second* CHRIST, in all respects similar to the *first*; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of JESUS. Yet, shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert that the absurd fable of the *stigmas*, or five wounds impressed upon FRANCIS by CHRIST himself, on mount *Alvernus*, was worthy of credit, because matter of undoubted fact [i]. Nor was this all; for they

WICKLIFF, published in 8vo at London in the year 1720, by Mr. JOHN LEWES, who also published, in the year 1731, WICKLIFF's English translation of the *New Testament* from the Latin version, called the *Vulgate*. This translation is enriched with a learned *Preface* by the editor, in which he enlarges upon the life, actions, and sufferings of that eminent reformer. The pieces, relative to the controversies which were set on foot by the doctrines of WICKLIFF, are to be found in the learned work of WILKINS, entitled, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hibern. tom. iii. p. 116. 156.*—See also BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 450.*—ANT. WOOD. *Antiq. Oxoniens. tom. i. p. 183. 186, & passim.*

[i] The story of the marks, or *stigmas*, impressed on FRANCIS is well known, as are also the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which en-

not

not only permitted to be published without any mark of C E N T.
 their disapprobation, but approved, and even recommend- XIV.
 ed, an impious piece, stuffed with tales yet more impro- PART II.
 bable and ridiculous than either of the abovementioned
 fictions, and entitled, *The Book of the conformities of St. Francis with* JESUS CHRIST, which was composed, in The Book
 the year 1383, by BARTHOLOMEW ALBIZI, a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This in- of the con-
 famous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a formities of
 level with a wretched mortal, is an eternal monument St. Francis.
 of the outrageous enthusiasm and abominable arrogance
 of the Franciscan order; and not less so of the excessive
 imprudence of the popes in extolling and recommending
 it [k].

XXII. The Franciscans, who adhered to the genuine The enor-
 and austere rule of their founder, and opposed the popes, mities of the
 Fratricelli.

join the belief of it, and which WADDING has collected with great care, and published in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. viii. & ix. The Dominicans formerly made a public jest of this ridiculous fable, but, being awed into silence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in secret, while the Franciscans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the most fervent zeal. That St. FRANCIS had upon his body the marks or impressions of the five great wounds of CHRIST, is not to be doubted, since this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses. But, as he was a most superstitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident, that he imprinted on himself these holy wounds, that he might resemble CHRIST, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's sufferings. It was customary in these times, for such as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies marks of this kind, that, having thus continually before them a lively representation of the death of CHRIST, they might preserve a becoming sense of it on their minds. The words of St. PAUL, *Galat. vi. 17.* were sufficient to confirm in this wretched delusion, an ignorant and superstitious age, in which the scriptures were neither studied nor understood. A long list of these *stigmatised fanatics* might be extracted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other records of this and the following century; nor is this ancient piece of superstition entirely abolished, even in our times. Be that as it may, the Franciscan monks having found these marks upon the dead body of their founder, took this occasion of making him appear to the world as honoured by heaven above the rest of mortals, and invented, for this purpose, the story of CHRIST's having miraculously transferred his wounds to him.

[k] Concerning ALBIZI in his book, see WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 158.—J. A. FARRICI *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 131.—SCHELHORNII *Amœn. Litter.* tom. iii. p. 160.—BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article FRANCIS, and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. at

who

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who attempted to mitigate the severity of its injunctions, were not a whit wiser than those of the order, who acknowledged the jurisdiction and respected the decisions of the Roman pontiffs. By these antipapal Franciscans, I mean the *Fratricelli* or Minorites, and the Tertiaries of that order, otherwise called *Beghards*, together with the *Spirituals*, who resided principally in *France*, and embraced the opinions of PIERRE D'OLIVE. These monastic factions were turbulent and seditious beyond expression; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time disturbed, wherever they went, the tranquillity both of church and state. About the beginning of this century [1], the less austere Franciscans were outrageous in their resentment against the *Fratricelli*, who had deserted their communion [m]; upon which such of the latter, as had the good fortune to escape the fury of their persecutors, retired into *France* in the year 1307, and associated themselves with the *Spirituals* or followers of PIERRE D'OLIVE in *Provence*, who had also formerly abandoned the society. Soon after this, the whole Franciscan order, in *France*, *Italy*, and other countries, was divided into two parties. The one, which embraced the severe discipline and absolute poverty of St. FRANCIS, were called *Spirituals*; the other, which insisted upon mitigating the austere injunctions of their founder, were styled the *Brethren of the community*. The latter, being by far the most numerous and powerful, exerted themselves to the utmost to oppress the former, whose faction as yet was but weak, and, as it were, in its

the article ALBIZI, p. 217. ERASMUS ALBERT made several extracts from this book, and published them under the title of the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, which was frequently printed in Latin, German, and French; and, in the year 1734, was published at *Amsterdam* in two volumes 8vo, in French and in Latin, with elegant cuts.

✎ The *Conformities* between CHRIST and St. FRANCIS are carried to forty in the book of ALBIZI, but they are multiplied to 4000 by a Spanish monk of the order of Observants, in a book published at *Madrid* in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratiæ Portentum*. The *Conformities* mentioned by PEDRO DE ALVA ASTORGA, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tom. iv. p. 318.

[1] In the year 1306 and 1307.

[m] WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. ad An. 1307. p. 91.

infancy;

infancy; but, notwithstanding this, they cheerfully submitted to these hardships, rather than return to the society of those who had deserted the rules of their master. Pope CLEMENT V, having drawn the leaders of these two parties to his court, took great pains to compose their dissensions; nevertheless, his pacific scheme advanced but slowly, on account of the inflexible obstinacy of each sect, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the mean while, the *Spirituals of Tuscany*, instead of waiting for the decision of his holiness, chose themselves a president, and inferior officers; while those of *France*, being in the neighbourhood of *Avignon*, patiently expected the papal determination [n].

XXIII. After many deliberations, CLEMENT V, in a general council held at *Vienne*, in *Dauphine*, where he issued out the famous bull, *Exiivi de paradiso* [o], proposed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wise concessions on both sides. He gave up many points to the *Spirituals*, or rigid Franciscans, enjoining upon the whole order the profession of *absolute poverty*, according to their primitive rule, and the solemn renunciation of all property, whether common or personal, confining them to what was necessary for their immediate subsistence, and allowing them, even for that, a very scanty pittance. He however, on the other hand, permitted the Franciscans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the necessaries of life, to erect *granaries* and *storehouses*, where they might deposit a part of their alms as a stock in case of want; and ordered that all such *granaries* and *store-houses* should be under the inspection and management of overseers and store-keepers, who were to determine what quantity of provisions should be laid up in them. And finally, in order to satisfy the *Brethren of the community*, he condemned some opinions of PIERRE D'OLIVE [p]. These proceedings silenced the monastic commotions in *France*;

[n] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. iv. 1310, p. 172 — ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1480. — BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 129. — ECCARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 508, 509.

[o] This bull is inserted in the *Jus Canonicum inter Clementinas*, tit. xi. *De verbis. signif.* tom. ii. p. 1095. edit. Böhmeri.

[p] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 194 197. 199.

but

C E N T. but the Tuscan and Italian *Spirituals* were so exceedingly
 XIV. perverse and obstinate, that they could not be brought to
 PART II. consent to any method of reconciliation. At length, in
 the year 1313, many of them, not thinking themselves
 any longer safe in *Italy*, went into *Sicily*, where they met
 with a very friendly reception from king FREDERIC, the
 nobility, and bishops [q].

XXIV. Upon the death of CLEMENT V, the tumult,
 which had been appeased by his authority, was revived
 in *France* with as much fury as ever. For, in the year
 1314, an hundred and twenty of the *Spirituals* made a
 violent attack upon the *Brethren of the community*, drove
 them out of the convents of *Narbonne* and *Beziers* by
 force of arms, and inflamed the quarrel in a yet higher
 degree by laying aside their antient habits, and assuming
 such as were short, strait, and coarse. They were soon
 joined by a considerable number from other provinces,
 and the citizens of *Narbonne*, where OLIVE was interred,
 enlisted themselves in the party. JOHN XXII, who was
 raised to the pontificate in the year 1317, took great pains
 to heal this new disorder. The first thing he did for this
 purpose was to publish a special bull, by which he or-
 dered the abolition of the *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*, and
 their *Tertiaries*, whether *Beguines* or *Beghards*, who were
 a body distinct from the *Spirituals* [r]. In the next place,
 he admonished the king of *Sicily* to expel all the *Spirituals*
 who had taken refuge in his dominions [s]; and then or-
 dered the French *Spirituals* to appear at *Avignon*; where
 he exhorted them to return to their duty; and, as the
 first step to it, to lay aside *their short, strait habits with the*
small hoods. The greatest part of them obeyed; but FR.
 BERNARD DELITIOSI, who was the head of the faction,
 and twenty-four of the *Brethren*, boldly refused to sub-
 mit to the injunction. In vindication of their conduct,
 they alledged that the rules prescribed by St. FRANCIS
 were the same with the gospel of JESUS CHRIST; that

[q] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 213, 214.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 152. 165.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 392. f.

[r] This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is to be found among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII*, tit. vii. *De religiosis domibus*, tom. ii. *Jur. Canon.* p. 1112.

[s] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 265. f.

the popes therefore had no authority to alter them: that the popes had acted sinfully in permitting the Franciscans to have *granaries* and *store-houses*; and that they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits to be worn that were enjoined by St. FRANCIS. JOHN, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave orders that these obstinate Brethren should be proceeded against as *heretics*. And surely nothing could make them appear *viler heretics* in the papal eye, than their daring thus audaciously to oppose the authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for F. DELITIOSI, who was at the head of this sect, and who is sometimes called DELLI CONSI, he was imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of his adherents were condemned to the flames, in the year 1318, at *Marseilles* [t], which odious sentence was accordingly executed without mercy.

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XXV. Thus these unhappy friars, and many more of their fraternity who were afterwards cut off by this cruel persecution, suffered merely for their contempt of the decisions of the pontiffs, and for maintaining that the institute of St. FRANCIS, their founder, which they imagined he had established under the direction of an immediate inspiration, was the very *Gospel of Christ*, and therefore not to be altered by the pope's authority. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than important, since it did not affect religion in the least, but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the habits to be worn by the Franciscan order, and their *granaries* and *store-houses*. The *Brethren of the community*, or the less rigid Franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods; but the *Spirituals* went in strait, short, and very coarse ones, which they asserted to be precisely the dress enjoined by the institute of St. FRANCIS, and what therefore no power upon earth had a right to alter. And whereas the *Brethren of the community*, immediately after the harvest and vintage, were

The ridiculous disputes of the Franciscans.

[t] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116. tom. ii. p. 341. et *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. 272. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 267. f. 316. f. MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 175. MARTINUS *Fuldensis*, in ECCARDI *Corpor. Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1725. et HERM. CORNERUS, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 981. *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 179. f. ARGENTRE *Collectio Judicior. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 294. f.

accustomed

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Excite grie-
vous com-
motions.

accustomed to lay up a stock of corn and wine in their granaries and cellars, the *Spiritual* Franciscans resolutely opposed this practice, as entirely repugnant to the profession of absolute poverty that had been embraced by the *Fratricelli* or *Minorites*. In order to put an end to these broils, pope JOHN, this very year, published a long mandatory letter, in which he ordered the contending parties to submit their disputes upon the two points abovementioned, to the decision of their superiors [u].

XXVI. The effects of this letter, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of JOHN XXII, whose cruelty was condemned and detested even by his adherents. For the *Spiritual* Franciscans and their votaries, being highly exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained, that JOHN XXII, by procuring the destruction of these holy men, had rendered himself utterly unworthy of the papal dignity, and was the true *Antichrist*. They moreover revered their four brethren, who were burnt at *Marseilles*, as so many martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes, and inveighed yet more vehemently than ever against *long habits*, *large hoods*, *granaries*, and *store-houses*. The inquisitors, on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended as many of these people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and sacrificed them without mercy to papal resentment and fury. So that from this time a vast number of those zealous defenders of the institute of St. FRANCIS, viz. the *Minorites*, *Beghards*, and *Spirituals*, were most barbarously put to death, not only in *France*, but also in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany* [w].

[u] It may be seen in the *Jus Canon. inter Extravag. communes de verbor. signif. cap. i.* See also WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 273.

[w] Besides many other pieces that serve to illustrate the intricate history of this persecution, I have in my possession a treatise, entitled, *Martyrologium Spiritualium et Fratricellorum*, which was delivered to the tribunal of the inquisition at *Carcaffone*, A. D. 1454. It contains the names of an hundred and thirteen persons of both sexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of INNOCENT VI, were burnt in *France* and *Italy*, for their inflexible attachment to the poverty of St. FRANCIS. I reckon that, from these and other records, published and unpublished, we may make out a list of two thousand martyrs of this kind. Compare *Codex Inquis. Tholosane*, à LIMBORCHIO editus, p. 298. 302. 319. 327, &c.

XXVII. This

XXVII. This dreadful flame continued to spread, till C E N T. XIV. it invaded the whole Franciscan order, which, in the P A R T II. year 1321, had revived the old contentions concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apostles. A certain ^{A new dispute arises concerning the poverty of Christ.} *Beguin*, or monk of the third order of St. FRANCIS, who was apprehended this year at *Narbonne*, taught, among other things, *That neither Christ, nor his apostles, ever possessed any thing, whether in common or personally, by right of property or dominion.* JOHN DE BELNA, an inquisitor of the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion erroneous; but BERENGARIUS TALONI, a Franciscan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly consonant to the bull, *Exiit qui seminet*, of NICHOLAS III. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the determination of the latter was adhered to by the Franciscans. At length the matter was brought before the pope, who prudently endeavoured to put an end to the dispute. With this view he called into his council UBERTINUS DE CASALIS, the patron of the *Spiritual*, and a person of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk gave captious, subtle, and equivocal answers to the questions that were proposed to him. The pontiff, however, and the cardinals, persuaded that his decisions, equivocal as they were, might contribute to terminate the quarrel, acquiesced in them, seconded them with their authority, and enjoined, at the same time, silence and moderation on the contending parties [x].

XXVIII. But the Dominicans and Franciscans were so exceedingly exasperated against each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themselves to this order. JOHN XXII, perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controversy in the year 1322; nay, he himself proposed to some of the most celebrated divines of the age, and especially to those of *Paris*, the determination of this point, viz. *Whether or no those were to be deemed heretics who maintained that Jesus Christ, and his apostles, had no common or personal property in any thing they possessed?* The Franciscans, who held an assembly this

[x] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 361. STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 307. GERR. DU BOIS, *Hist. Eccl. Paris.* p. 611. f.

C E N T. year at *Perugia*, having got notice of this proceeding,
 XIV. unanimously decreed, that those who held this tenet were
 PART II. not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy
 and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the decisions
 and mandates of the popes. They also sent a deputy to
Avignon, to defend this unanimous determination of their
 whole order against all opponents whatever. The person
 they commissioned for this purpose was F. BONAGRATIA,
 of *Bergamo*, who also went by the name of BONCOR-
 TESE [y], one of their fraternity, and a man famous for
 his extensive learning. JOHN XXII, being highly in-
 censed at this step, issued out a decree in the month of
 November, wherein he espoused an opinion diametrically
 opposite to that of the Franciscans, and pronounced them
 heretics, for obstinately maintaining *that Christ, and his*
apostles, had no common or personal property in what they
possessed, nor a power of selling, or alienating, any part of it.
 Soon after he proceeded yet farther, and in another con-
 stitution, published in December following, exposed the
 weakness and inefficacy of those arguments, commonly
 deduced from a bull of NICHOLAS III, concerning the
 property of the Franciscan possessions being transferred
 to the church of *Rome*, whereby the monks were sup-
 posed to be deprived of what we call *right*, and were
 only allowed the *simple use* of what was necessary for their
immediate support. In order to confute this plea, he
 shewed that it was absolutely impossible to separate *right*
 and *property* from the *lawful use* of such things as were
 immediately consumed by that use. He also solemnly
 renounced all property in the Franciscan effects, which
 had been reserved to the church of *Rome* by former
 popes, their churches and some other things excepted.
 And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto
 received and administered by procurators on the part of
 the Roman church, he dismissed these officers, and abo-
 lished all the decrees of his predecessors, and all the an-
 tient constitutions relating to this affair [z].

[y] I insert this caution, because I have observed that some eminent
 writers, by not attending to this circumstance, have taken these two names
 for two different persons.

[z] These constitutions are recorded in the *Corpus Juris Canon.*
 and also among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *de verbor. signific. cap. ii.*
 iii. p. 1121. Concerning the transaction itself, the reader should

XXIX. By this method of proceeding, the dexterous pontiff entirely destroyed that boasted *expropriation*; which was the main bulwark of the Franciscan order; and which its founder had esteemed the distinguishing glory of the society. It was therefore natural that these measures should determine the Franciscans to an obstinate resistance. And such indeed was the effect they produced: for, in the year 1323, they sent their brother BONAGRATIA in quality of legate to the papal court, where he vigorously and openly opposed the latter constitution of JOHN, boldly affirming, that it was contrary to all law both human and divine [a]. The pope, on the other hand, highly exasperated against this audacious defender of the Franciscan poverty, threw him into prison; and by a new edict, which he published about the end of the year, enacted, that all who maintained that CHRIST, and his apostles, had no common nor special property in any of their possessions, should be deemed heretics, and corruptors of the true religion [b]. Finding, however, that the Franciscans were not terrified in the least by this decree, he published another yet more flaming constitution about the end of the year 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and pronounced that tenet concerning the *expropriation of Christ and his apostles, a pestilential, erroneous, damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the catholic faith*, and declared all such as adhered to it, *obstinate heretics and rebels against the church* [c]. In consequence of this merciless decree,

C E N T.
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The quarrel
between the
Franciscans
and John
XXII.

chiefly consult that impartial writer ALVARUS PELAGIUS, *De planctu ecclesie*, lib. ii. c. 60. f. 145. as also LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 394. f. each of them blames JOHN. BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 191. f.

[a] WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2. 22.—AVAR. PELAGIUS, *De planctu ecclesie*, lib. ii. f. 167.—TRITHEMIUS, *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 157.—THEOD. DE NIEN, in ECCARDI *Corpore Hist. med. ævi*, tom. vii. p. 1491.

[b] WADDINGUS, tom. vii. p. 36.—*Contin. de NANGIS*, in DACHERII *Spicilegio*, tom. iii. p. 83.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205.—*Benedictinor. Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515.

[c] This constitution, as well as the two former already mentioned, is published among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *De verbor. signif.* WADDINGUS, tom. vii. p. 36. vigorously opposes this last, which is pretty extraordinary in a man so immoderately attached to the cause of the popes as he was.

C E N T. great numbers of those who persisted in asserting that
 XIV. CHRIST and his apostles were exactly such Mendicants
 PART II. as FRANCIS would have his brethren to be, were apprehended by the Dominican inquisitors, who were implacable enemies of the Franciscans, and committed to the flames. The history of *France* and *Spain*, *Italy* and *Germany*, during this and the following century, abound with instances of this deplorable cruelty.

The attempts of the Franciscans against the pope.

XXX. The zealous pontiff pursued this affair with great warmth for several years successively; and as this contest seemed to have taken its rise from the books of PIERRE D'OLIVE, he branded with infamy, in the year 1325, the *Postilla*, and the other writings of that author, as pernicious and heretical [*d*]. The next step he took was to summon to *Avignon* some of the more learned and eminent brethren of the Franciscan order, of whose writings and eloquence he was the most apprehensive, and to detain them at his court: and then, to arm himself against the resentment and indignation of this exasperated society, and to prevent their attempting any thing to his prejudice, he kept a strict guard over them in all places, by means of his friends the Dominicans. MICHAEL DE CÆSENAS, who resided in *Italy*, and was the head of the order, could but ill dissemble the hatred he had conceived against the pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to *Avignon*, in the year 1327, and there deprived him of his office [*e*]. But, prudent as this violent measure might appear at first sight, it served only to inflame the enraged Franciscans more than ever, and to confirm them in their attachment to the scheme of absolute poverty. For no sooner did the bitter and well-known contest between JOHN XXII, and the emperor LEWIS of *Bavaria*, break out, than the principal champions of the Franciscan cause, such as MARSILIUS of *Padua*, and JO. DE JANDUNO, or GENOA, fled to the emperor, and under his protection published the most virulent pieces imaginable, in which they not only attacked JOHN personally, but also levelled their satires at the power and authority of the popes in ge-

[*d*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 47.—JO. GEORG. ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 592 and 1491.

[*e*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 69. 74.

neral [f]. This example was soon followed by others, particularly by MICH. CÆSENAS, and WILLIAM OCCAM, who excelled most men of his time in subtilty and acuteness of genius, and also by F. BONAGRATIA of Bergamo. They made their escape by sea from Avignon, in the year 1327, went first to the emperor, who was, at that time, in Italy, and from thence proceeded to Munich. They were soon joined by many others, such as BERENGARIUS, FRANCIS DE ESCULO, and HENRY DE HALEM, who were highly and deservedly esteemed on account of their eminent parts and extensive learning [g]. All these learned fugitives defended the institute of their founder in long and laboured treatises, in which they reduced the papal dignity and authority within a very narrow compass, and loaded the pontiffs with reproaches and invectives. OCCAM surpassed them all in the keenness and spirit of his satire; and hence his *Dialogues*, together with his other productions, which were perused with avidity, and transmitted down to succeeding generations, gave, as it were, a mortal blow to the ambition and majesty of the Roman pontiffs.

XXXI. On the other hand, the emperor, LEWIS of Bavaria, to express his gratitude to these his defenders, not only made the cause of the Franciscans his own, but also adopted their favourite sentiment concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apostles. For among the heresies and errors of which he publicly accused JOHN XXII, and for which he deprived him of the pontificate, the principal and most pernicious one, in the

Lewis of
Bavaria be-
comes the
patron of
the Fran-
ciscans.

[f] LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85. f. *Bullar. Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167. EDM. MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695. 704. BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 216. There is a very noted piece on this subject written by MARSILIUS of Padua, who was professor at Vienna, which was published in 8vo at Frankfurt, by FRANC. GOMMARIUS, 1592, and is intitled, *Defensor pro Ludovico Bawaro adversus usurpatam Romani Pontificis jurisdictionem.*

[g] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 31.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iii. p. 749. 757. f. 781.—TRITHEMII *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 167.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 217.—ECCARDI *Corpus Hist. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1034.—BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 293. 315.—The reader may also consult those writers who have compiled *Indexes and Collections of Ecclesiastical Historians.*

C E N T. opinion of the emperor, was his maintaining that the
 XIV. poverty of CHRIST did not exclude all right and pro-
 PART II. perty in what he used as a subsistence [b]. The *Fratri-*
celli, *Beghards*, *Beguines*, and *Spirituals*, then at variance
 with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor,
 in *Germany*, against the attempts of the inquisitors; so
 that, during his reign, that country was over-run with
 shoals of Mendicant friars. There was scarce a pro-
 vince or city in the empire that did not abound with
Beghards and *Beguines*; that is, monks professing the third
 rule of St. FRANCIS, and who placed the chief excel-
 lence of the Christian life in a voluntary and absolute
 poverty [i]. The Dominicans, on the other hand, as
 enemies to the Franciscans, and friends to the pope,
 were treated with great severity by his Imperial majesty,
 who banished them with ignominy out of several ci-
 ties [k].

Peace is
 made be-
 tween the
 Franciscans
 and the
 pope.

XXXII. The rage of the contending parties subsided
 greatly from the year 1329. The pope caused a diet
 of the Franciscans to be held that year at *Paris*, where,
 by means of cardinal BERTRAND, who was president of
 the assembly, and the Parisian doctors, who were attached
 to his interests, he so far softened the resentment of the
 greatest part of the brethren, that they ceased to defend
 the conduct of MICHAEL CÆSENAS and his associates,
 and permitted another president, GERARD ODDO, to be
 substituted in his room. They also acknowledged JOHN
 to be a true and lawful pope; and then terminated the
 dispute concerning the poverty of CHRIST in such an
 ambiguous manner, that the constitutions and edicts of
 NICHOLAS III and JOHN XXII, however contradictory,
 maintained their authority [l]. But, notwithstanding
 these pacific and mutual concessions, there were great

[b] See *Processus Ludovici contra Johannem*, A. 1328, d. 12 Dec. datus, in BALUZII *Miscellaneis*, tom. ii. p. 522. and also his *Appellatio*, p. 494.

[i] I have many pieces upon this subject that were never published.

[k] MART. DIEFENBACH. *De mortis genere, quo Henricus VII obiit*, p. 145. and others.—ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 2303. —BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 220.

[l] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. vii. p. 94.—DACHERII *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 97.

numbers of the Franciscans in *Germany, Spain, and Italy*,^{CENT. XIV. PART II.} who would by no means consent to this reconciliation. After the death of JOHN, BENEDICT XII and CLEMENT VI took great pains to close the breach, and shewed great clemency and tenderness towards such of the order as thought the institute of their founder more sacred than the papal bulls. This lenity had some good effects. Many, who had withdrawn themselves from the society were hereby induced to return to it, in which number were FRANCIS DE ESCULO, and others, who had been some of JOHN's most inveterate enemies [m]. Even those, who would not be prevailed on to return to their order, ceased to insult the popes, observed the rules of their founder in a quiet and inoffensive manner, and would have no sort of connexion with those *Fratricelli* and *Tertiaries* in *Italy, Spain, and Germany*, who condemned the papal authority [n].

XXXIII. The German Franciscans, who were protected by the emperor LEWIS, held out their opposition much longer than any of the rest. But in the year 1347, their imperial patron being dead, the halcyon days of the Franciscan *Spirituals*, as also of their associates the *Beghards*, or *Tertiaries*, were at an end in *Germany*. For in the year 1345, his successor CHARLES IV, having been raised to the imperial throne by the interest of the pope, was ready, in his turn, to gratify the desires of the court of *Rome*, and accordingly supported, both by his edicts and by his arms, the inquisitors who were sent by the Roman pontiff against his enemies, and suffered them to apprehend and put to death all of these enemies that came within their reach. These ministers of papal vengeance exerted their power chiefly in the district of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse*, where they extirpated all the *Beghards*, as well as the *Beguines*, or *Tertiaries*, the associates of those Franciscans, who held that CHRIST and his apostles had no property in any thing. These severe measures were approved by

The distresses of the
Spirituals,
Beghards,
&c. in Ger-
many.

[m] ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 281.—WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 313.

[n] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 116. 126.—ARGENTRE *l. c.* tom. i. p. 343, &c.

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CHARLES IV, who then resided in *Italy*, at *Lucca*, from whence, in the year 1369, he issued out severe edicts, commanding all the German princes to extirpate out of their dominions the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, or, as he himself interpreted the name, the *voluntary beggars* [o], as enemies of the church and of the Roman empire, and to assist the *inquisitors* in their proceedings against them. By another edict, published not long after, he gave the houses of the *Beghards* to the *tribunal* of the *inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for *heretics*: and, at the same time, ordered all the effects of the *Beguines* to be sold publicly, and the profits arising from thence to be equally divided between the *inquisitors*, the magistrates, and the poor of those towns and cities where such sale should be made [p]. The *Beghards*, being reduced to great straits by this and other mandates of the emperor, and by the constitutions of the popes, sought a refuge in those provinces of *Switzerland* that border upon the *Rhine*, and also in *Holland*, *Brabant*, and *Pomerania* [q]. But the edicts and mandates of the emperor, together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, followed them wherever they went, and distressed them in their most distant retreats; so that, during the reign of CHARLES IV, the greatest part of *Germany* (*Switzerland*, and those provinces that are contiguous to it excepted)

[o] In High Dutch, *Die wilgen Armen*.

[p] I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of CHARLES IV, enacted on this occasion, as also many of the papal constitutions, and other records which illustrate this affair, and which undoubtedly deserve to see the light. It is certain, that CHARLES IV himself, in his edicts and mandates, clearly characterizes those people, whom he there styles *Beggards* and *Beguines*, as *Franciscan Tertiaries*, belonging to that party of the order then at variance with the pope. They are (to use the emperor's own words, in his edict issued out at *Lucca*, and bearing date the 16th of June, 1369) *a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and who are under a vow that they neither ought to have, nor will have, any property, whether special or common, in the goods they use*, (this is the poverty of the *Franciscan* institute, which JOHN XXII so strenuously opposed) *which they extend even to their wretched habits*.—For so the *Spirituals* and their associates used to do.

[q] See ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccles. ad A. 1372.* § xxxiv. p. 513. See also the books of FELIX MALLEOLUS, written in the following century against the *Beggards* in *Switzerland*.

was

was thoroughly purged of the *Beghards*, or rebellious Franciscans, both *perfect* and *imperfect*. E N T.
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XXXIV. But neither edicts, bulls, or inquisitors, could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate discord. For so ardently were many of the brethren bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous manner, the institute of St. FRANCIS, that numbers were to be found in all places who either withstood the president of the society, or, at least, obeyed him with reluctance. At once therefore to satisfy both the laxer and more rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that PAULUTIUS FULGINAS, who was the chief of the more rigid Franciscans in *Italy*, together with his associates, who were pretty numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the institute of their founder in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The *Spirituals*, and the followers of OLIVE, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the *severer discipline* continually encreased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which subsist to this day, viz. the *Conventual Brethren*, and the *Brethren of the observation*. Those who gave up the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontiffs, were called by the former name; and the council of *Constance* conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than by any explications of it [r]. But the *Fratricelli*, together with the *Beghards*, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of the church,

[r] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 209. 293. 326. 336. tom. ix. p. 59. 65. 78, &c.

CENT. during this and the following century, in the marquifate
XIV. of *Ancona*, and in other places.

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New religi-
ous orders
are founded,

XXXV. This century gave rise to other religious societies, some of which were but of short duration and the rest never became famous. JOHN COLOMBINI, a nobleman of *Sienna*, founded, in the year 1368, the order of the *Apostolic Clercs*, who, because they frequently pronounced the name of JESUS, were afterwards called *Jesuates*. This institution was confirmed by URBAN V the following year, and subsisted till the last century, when it was abolished by CLEMENT IX [s]. The brethren belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the institute of St. AUGUSTIN. They were not, however, admitted to holy orders, but assisted the poor by their prayers, and other pious offices, and prepared medicines for them, which they distributed *gratis* [t]. But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when CLEMENT dissolved the order.

The sect of
the Cellite
brethren and
sisters.
The Lollards.

XXXVI. Soon after the commencement of this century, the famous sect of the *Cellite brethren and sisters* arose at *Antwerp*: they were also styled the *Alexian brethren and sisters*, because St. ALEXIUS was their patron; and they were named *Cellites*, from the cells in which they were used to live. As the clergy of this age took little care of the sick and dying, and deserted such as were infected with those pestilential disorders which were then very frequent, some compassionate and pious persons at *Antwerp* formed themselves into a society for the performance of those religious offices which the Sacerdotal orders so shamefully neglected. Pursuant to this agreement, they visited and comforted the sick, assisted the dying with their prayers and exhortations, took care of the interment of those who were cut off by the plague, and on that account forsaken by the affrighted clergy, and committed them to the grave with a solemn funeral dirge. It was with reference to this last office, that the common people gave them the name of *Lollards* [u]. The example

[s] In the year 1668.

[t] HIPP. HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 411. f.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189. f.—BONANNI and others who have compiled histories of the religious orders.

[u] Many writers have given us large accounts concerning the sect and name of the *Lollards*, yet none of them are to be commended for their fidelity, diligence, or accuracy on this head. This I can confidently assert, be-

of these good people had such an extensive influence, that C E N T.
in a little time societies of the same sort of *Lollards*, con- XIV.
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cause I have carefully and expressly inquired into whatever relates to the *Lollards*; and from the most authentic records concerning them, both published and unpublished, have collected copious materials from whence their true history may be compiled. Most of the German writers, as well as those of other countries, affirm, that the *Lollards* were a particular sect, who differed from the church of *Rome* in many religious points; and that *WALTER LOLLHARD* who was burnt in this century at *Cologne*, was their founder. How so many learned men came to adopt this opinion is beyond my comprehension. They indeed refer to *JO. TRITHEMIUS* as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain, that no such account of these people is to be found in his writings. I shall therefore endeavour, with all possible brevity, to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of ecclesiastical history may have a just notion of it.

The term *Lollbard*, or *Lulbard*, or, as the ancient Germans write it, *Lollert*, *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *Lullen*, *Lollen*, *Lallen*, and the well known termination *bard*, with which many of the old High Dutch words end. *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, signifies to sing with a low voice. It is yet used in the same sense among the English, who say, *lull a sleep*, which signifies to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet indistinct voice. See *FRANC. JUNII Etymologicum Anglicanum*, ab *EDUARDO LYE*, *Oxon.* 1743, fol. under the word *Lollard*. The word is also used in the same sense among the Flemings, Swedes, and other nations, as appears by their respective *Dictionaries*. Among the Germans, both the sense and pronunciation of it have undergone some alteration; for they say, *Lallen*, which signifies to pronounce indistinctly, or stammer. *Lollbard* therefore is a singer, or one who frequently sings. For as the word *Beggen*, which universally signifies to request any thing fervently, is applied to devotional requests, or prayers, and, in the stricter sense in which it is used by the High Dutch, denotes praying fervently to God; in the same manner, the word *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, is transferred from a common to a sacred song, and signifies, in its most limited sense, to sing a hymn. *Lollbard* therefore, in the vulgar tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a person who is continually praising God with a song, or singing hymns to his honour. *HOSCEMIUS*, a canon of *Liege*, has well apprehended and expressed the force of this word in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. xxxi. in *JO. CHAPEAVILLI Gesta Pontificum Tungrensis et Leodiensis*, tom. ii. p. 350. f. In the same year (1399), says he, certain strolling hypocrites, who were called *LOLLARDS*, or praisers of God, deceived some women of quality in *Hainault* and *Brabant*. Because those who praised God generally did it in verse, therefore, in the Latin style of the middle age, to praise God, meant to sing to him, and such as were frequently employed in acts of adoration were called religious singers. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external sign of piety towards God, therefore those who aspired after a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpose were more frequently occupied

singing

C E N T. sitting both of men and women, were formed in most
 XIV. parts of Germany and Flanders, and were supported partly
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in singing hymns of praise to God than others, were, in the common popular language, called *Lollhards*. Hereupon this word acquired the same meaning with that of the term *Beggard*, which denoted a person remarkable for piety; for in all the old records, from the eleventh century, these two words are synonymous: so that all who are styled *Beggards* are also called *Lollards*, which may be proved to a demonstration from many authors, and particularly from many passages in the writings of FELIX MALLEOLUS against the *Beggards*: so that there are precisely as many sorts of *Beggards* as of *Lollards*. Those whom the monks now call *Lay Brethren*, were formerly named *Lollard Brethren*, as is well observed by BARTHOL. SCHOBINGER, *Ad Joach. Vadianum de collegiis monasterisque Germaniæ Veter. lib. i. p. 24. in GOLDASTI Scriptor. rerum Alemannicarum, tom. iii.*

The Brethren of the free spirit, of whom we have already given a large account, are by some styled *Beggards*, by others *Lollards*. The followers of GERHARD GROOTE, or *Priests of the community*, are frequently called *Lollard Brethren*. The good man WALTER, who was burnt at *Cologne*, and whom so many learned men have unadvisedly represented as the founder of the sect of the *Lollards*, is by some called a *Beggard*, by others a *Lollard*, and by others a *Minorite*. The Franciscan *Tertiaries*, who were remarkable for their prayers and other pious exercises, often go by the name of *Lollards*. The *Cellite Brethren*, or *Alexians*, whose piety was very exemplary, did no sooner appear in *Flanders* about the beginning of this century, than the people gave them the title of *Lollards*, a term much in use at that time. A particular reason indeed for their being distinguished by this name was, that they were public singers, who made it their business to inter the bodies of those who died of the plague, and sang a dirge over them in a mournful and indistinct tone as they carried them to the grave. Among the many testimonies that might be alledged to prove this, we shall confine ourselves to the words of Jo. BAPT. GRAMAYE, a man eminently skilled in the history of his country, in his Work, entitled, *Antwerpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. *The Alexians*, says he, *who constantly employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; at which place, about the year 1300, some honest pious laymen formed a society. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modesty, they were styled Matemanni (or Moderatists), and also LOLLARDS, FROM THEIR ATTENDANCE ON FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.—From their cells, they were named Cellite brethren.* To the same purpose is the following passage in his work, entitled, *Lovanium*, p. 18. which is inserted in the splendid folio edition of the *Belgic Antiquities*, published at *Louvain* in 1708: *The Alexians, who were wholly engaged in taking care of funerals, now began to appear. They were laymen, who, having wholly devoted themselves to works of mercy, were named LOLLARDS and Matemanni (or Moderatists). They made it their sole business to take care of all such as were sick, or out of their senses. These they attended both privately and publicly, and buried the dead. The same learned author tells us, that he transcribed some of these particulars from an old diary*
 by

by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious persons. The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns, where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them peculiar marks of favour and protection on account of their great usefulness to the sick and needy. But the clergy, whose reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the Mendicant friars, who found their profits diminished by the growing credit of these new comers, persecuted them vehemently, and accused them to the popes of many vices and intolerable errors. Hence it was, that the word *Lollard*, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a person, who, under the mask of extraordinary piety, concealed either enormous vices, or pernicious sentiments. But the magistrates, by their recommendations and testimonials, supported the *Lollards* against their malignant rivals, and obtained many papal constitutions, by which

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written in Flemish rhyme. Hence we find in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analect. vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 431. the following words: *Die Lollardjes die brochten de dooden by een, i. e. the Lollards who collected the dead bodies*; which passage is thus paraphrased by MATTHÆUS, *The Managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a fixed company, were a set of mean worthless creatures, who usually spoke in a canting mournful tone, as if bewailing the dead; and hence it came to pass, that a street in Utrecht, in which most of these people lived, was called the Loller street.* The same reason that changed the word *Beggard* from its primitive meaning, contributed also to give, in process of time, a different signification to that of *Lollard*, even its being assumed by persons that dishonoured it. For among those *Lollards*, who made such extraordinary pretences to piety and religion, and spent the greatest part of their time in meditation, prayer, and such-like acts of piety, there were many abominable hypocrites, who entertained the most ridiculous opinions, and concealed the most enormous vices under the specious mask of this extraordinary profession. But it was chiefly after the rise of the *Alexians*, or *Cellites*, that the name *Lollard* became infamous. For the priests and monks, being inveterately exasperated against these good men, propagated injurious suspicions of them, and endeavoured to persuade the people, that, innocent and beneficent as the *Lollards* seemed to be, they were in reality the contrary, being tainted with the most pernicious sentiments of a religious kind, and secretly addicted to all sorts of vices. Thus by degrees it came to pass, that any person, who covered heresies, or crimes, under the appearance of piety, was called a *Lollard*. So that it is certain this was not a name to denote any one particular sect, but was formerly common to all persons and all sects, who were supposed to be guilty of impiety towards God and the church, under an external profession of extraordinary piety.

their

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their institute was confirmed, their persons exempted from the cognizance of the inquisitors, and subjected entirely to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But as these measures were insufficient to secure them from molestation, CHARLES, duke of *Burgundy*, in the year 1472, obtained a solemn bull from pope SIXTUS IV, ordering that the *Cellites*, or *Lollards*, should be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the jurisdiction of the bishops: and pope JULIUS II granted them yet greater privileges in the year 1506. Many societies of this kind are yet subsisting at *Cologne*, and in the cities of *Flanders*, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules [w].

Greek writers.

XXXVII. Among the Greek writers of this century the following were the most eminent.

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, whose *Ecclesiastical History* we have already mentioned;

MATTHÆUS BLASTARES, who illustrated and explained the canon laws of the Greeks;

BARLAAM, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cause against the Latins;

GREGORIUS ACINDYNUS, an inveterate enemy of the *Palamites*, of which sect we shall give some account in its proper place;

JOHANNES CANTACUZENUS, famous for his history of his own time, and his confutation of the Mahometan law;

NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, who compiled the Byzantine history, and left some other monuments of his genius to posterity;

THEOPHANES, bishop of *Nice*, a laborious defender of the truth of Christianity against the Jews, and the rest of its enemies;

NILUS CABASILAS, NILUS RHODIUS, and NILUS DAMYLA, who most warmly maintained the cause of their nation against all the Latin writers;

[w] Besides many others whom it is not proper to mention here, see ÆGID. GELLENUS, *De admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. *Syntagm.* li. p. 534. 598. 603.—JO. BAPT. GRAMAYE, in *Antiquit. Belgicis*.—ANTON. SANDERUS, in *Brabantia et Flandria illustratis*.—AUB. MIRÆUS, in *operibus Diplomatico Historicis*, and many other writers of this period in many places of their works. I may add, that those who are styled *Lollards*, are by many called *die Nollbruder*, from *Nollen*, an ancient German word.

PHILOTHEUS,

PHILOTHEUS, several of whose tracts are yet extant, and seem well adapted to excite a devotional temper and spirit.

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GREGORY PALAMAS; of whom more hereafter.

XXXVIII. From the prodigious number of the Latin writers of this century, we shall only select the most famous. Among the scholastic doctors, who blended philosophy with divinity, JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, a Franciscan, and the great antagonist of Thomas, held the first rank, and, though not entitled to any praise for his candour and ingenuity, was by no means inferior to any of his contemporaries in acuteness and subtilty of genius [x].

After him the most celebrated writers of this class were DURANDUS of St. PORTIAN, who combated the commonly received doctrine of the divine co-operation with the human will [y]. ANTONIUS ANDRÆAS, HERVÆUS NATALIS, FRANCIS MAYRONIUS, THOMAS BRADWARDINE, an acute ingenious man [z], PETER AUREOLUS, JOHN BACON, WILLIAM OCCAM, WALTER BURLÆUS, PETER DE ALLIACO, THOMAS of *Strasburg*, and GREGORY DE RIMINI [a].

Among the mystic divines, JO. TAULERUS and JO. RUYSBROCKIUS, though not entirely free from errors, were eminent for their wisdom and integrity;

NICHOLAS LYRANUS acquired great reputation by his *Compendious Exposition of the whole Bible*;

[x] The very laborious and learned LUC. WADDINGUS favoured the public with an accurate edition of the works of SCOTUS, which was printed at *Lyons*, 1639, in twelve volumes folio.—Compare WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86. f. but especially WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor. frat.* tom. vi. p. 40. 107.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c.

[y] See JO. LAUNOIUS, in a small treatise, entitled *Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. opp.—*Gallia Christ.* tom. ii. p. 723.

[z] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 232. & *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 360.—STEPH. SOUCIETUS, in *Observationibus ad b. l.* p. 703.—*Nouv. Dict. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 500. f. He was archbishop of *Canterbury*.

[a] For a full account of all these persons, see *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallienne*, tom. xiv. p. 117 12. f.

RAYNERIUS

RAYNERIUS PISANUS is celebrated for his *Summary of Theology*, and ASTESANUS for his *Summary of Cases of Conscience*.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian Church during this century.

CENT. I.
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PART II.

The corrup-
tion of reli-
gion,

I. **A**LL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times must acknowledge, that religion, whether as taught in the schools, or inculcated upon the people as the rule of their conduct, was so extremely adulterated and deformed, that there was not a single branch of the Christian doctrine, which retained the least trace of its primitive lustre and beauty. Hence it may easily be imagined, that the *Waldenses* and others, who longed for a reformation of the church, and had separated themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Rome*, though every where exposed to the fury of the *inquisitors* and monks, yet increased from day to day, and baffled all the attempts that were made to extirpate them. Many of these poor people having observed, that great numbers of their party perished by the flames and other punishments, fled out of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, into *Bohemia* and the adjacent countries, where they afterwards associated with the *Hussites* and other Separatists from the church of *Rome*.

The state of
exegetical
or explana-
tory theo-
logy.

II. **NICHOLAS LYRANUS** deservedly holds the first rank among the commentators on the Holy Scriptures, having explained the Books both of the Old and New Testament in a manner far superior to the prevailing taste and spirit of his age. He was a perfect master of the Hebrew language, but not well versed in the Greek, and was therefore much happier in his exposition of the Old Testament, than in that of the New [*b*]. All the other divines, who applied themselves to this kind of

[*b*] RICH. SIMON, *Histoire des principaux Commentateurs du Nos.* p. 447. & *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 352. — WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 264. f.

writing,

writing, were servile imitators of their predecessors. C E N T. XIV. PART II. They either culled choice sentences from the writings of the more ancient doctors; or else, departing from the obvious meaning of the words, they tortured the sacred writers to accommodate them to senses that were mysterious and abstruse. They who are desirous of being acquainted with this art, may have recourse to VITALIS A FURNO, his *Moral Mirrour of the Scriptures* [c], or to LUDOLPHUS of Saxony, in his *Psalter Spiritualized* [d]. The philosophers, who commented upon the sacred writings, sometimes proposed subtle questions drawn from what was called, in this century, *Internal Science*, and solved them in a dexterous and artful manner.

III. The greatest part of the doctors of this century, The didactic peridivines. both Greek and Latin, followed the rules of the peripatetic philosophy, in expounding and teaching the doctrines of religion; and the Greeks, from their commerce with the Latins, seemed to have acquired some knowledge of those methods of instruction used in the western schools. Even to this day the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the works of THOMAS, and other capital writers of the scholastic class, which in this age were translated and introduced into the Greek church by DEMETRIUS CYDONIUS, and others [e]. Prodigious numbers among the Latins were fond of this subtle method, in which JOHN SCOTUS, DURANDUS A S. PORTIAN, and WILLIAM OCCAM, peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourse to the decisions of *Scripture* and *Tradition* in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immense tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

IV. This superiority of the schoolmen did not, how- The adversaries of the school-divines. ever prevent some wise and pious men among the *Mystics*, and elsewhere, from severely censuring this presumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of The Biblical divines. philosophy matters of pure revelation. Many, on the contrary, were bold enough to oppose the reigning passion, and to recal the youth designed for the ministry, to

[c] *Speculum Morale totius Scripturæ.*[d] *Psalterium juxta Spiritualem sensum.*[e] RICH. SIMON, *Creance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

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the study of the scriptures and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost every where; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in some of the more famous universities, especially in those of *Paris* and *Oxford*, where many sharp disputes were continually carried on against the *philosophical* divines by those of the *biblical* party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagonists in point of number, were sometimes victorious. For the *philosophical* legions, headed by Mendicants, Dominicans, and Franciscans, were often extremely rash in their manner of disputing; they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion in such a way as really overturned them, and fell often into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety by flight; some had their writings publicly burnt, and others were thrown into prison [f]. However, when these commotions were quelled, most of them returned, though with prudence and caution, to their former way of thinking, perplexed their adversaries by various contrivances, and deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and many of their followers.

Contentions
among the
schoolmen.
The Scotists
and Thom-
ists.

V. It is remarkable, that these *scholastic* doctors, or *philosophical* theologists, far from agreeing among themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations with each other concerning many points. The flame of their controversy was, in this century, supplied with plentiful accessions of fuel, by JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, an Englishman, of the Franciscan order, who was extremely eminent for the subtilty of his genius, and who, animated against the

[f] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. passim.—In the year 1340, several opinions of the schoolmen, concerning the Trinity and other doctrines, were condemned, p. 266.—In the year 1347, M. JO. DE MERCURIA and NICH. DE ULTRICURIA were obliged to abjure their errors, p. 298. 308.—In 1348, one SIMON was convicted of some horrible errors, p. 322.—The same fate, A. 1354, befel GUIDO of the Augustine order, p. 329. A. 1362, the like happened to one LEWIS, p. 374. to JO. DE CALORE, p. 377. A. 1365, to DION. SOULLECHAT, p. 382. *Oxford* also had its share in transactions of this nature. See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon*, tom. i. p. 153. 183. f.

Dominicans

Dominicans by a warm spirit of jealousy, had attacked C E N T. XIV. PART II. and attempted to disprove several doctrines of THOMAS AQUINAS. Upon this, the Dominicans taking the alarm, united from all quarters to defend their favourite doctor, whom they justly considered as the common leader of the scholastics; while the Franciscans, on the other hand, espoused with ardour the cause of SCOTUS, whom they looked upon as a divine sage sent down from heaven to enlighten bewildered and erring mortals. Thus these powerful and flourishing orders were again divided; and hence the origin of the two famous sects, the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, which, to this day, dispute the field of controversy in the Latin schools. The chief points about which they disagree are, the *Nature of the divine co-operation with the human will*, the *Measure of divine grace* that is necessary to salvation, the *Unity of form in man*, or personal identity, and other abstruse and minute questions, the enumeration of which is foreign to our purpose. We shall only observe, that what contributed most to exalt the reputation of SCOTUS, and to cover him with glory, was his demonstration and defence of, what was called, the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*, against the Dominicans, who entertained different notions of that matter [g].

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denomi-The Mystics. nated *Mystics*, resided and propagated their tenets in almost every part of *Europe*. There were, undoubtedly, among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were TAULERUS, RUYSBROCIUS, SUSO, and GERARD of Zutphen [h], who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, is a defect common to them

[g] See WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52.

[h] Concerning these authors, see PETR. POIRET, *Biblioth. Mysticorum*; and GODOFR. ARNOLD, *Histor. et descriptio Theol. Mysticae*. Concerning TAULERUS and SUSO, ECHARDUS treats expressly in his *Scriptor. Prædicat.* tom. i. p. 653. 677. See also *Acta Sanctor.* Januar. tom. ii. p. 652.

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But there were also some senseless fanatics belonging to this party, who ran about, from place to place, recommending a most unaccountable extinction of all the rational faculties, whereby they idly imagined the human mind would be transfused into the divine essence; and thus led their proselytes into a foolish kind of piety, that in too many cases bordered nearly upon licentiousness. The religious frenzy of these enthusiasts rose to such a height, as rendered them detestable to the soberer sort of *Mystics*, who charged their followers to have no connexions with them [i].

Moral writers.

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those who applied themselves to the study of morality, seeing their merit is much of the same kind with that of the authors whom we have already mentioned; though it may be proper to mention two circumstances, by which the reader may ascertain the true state of this science. The first is, that about this time more writers than in any former century made it their business to collect and solve, what they styled, *Cases of conscience*, by which ASTESANUS, an Italian, MONALDUS, and BARTHOLOMEW of St. CONCORDIA, acquired a reputation superior to any of their contemporaries. This kind of writing was of a piece with the education then received in the schools, since it taught people to quibble and wrangle, instead of forming them to a sound faith and a suitable practice. A second thing worthy of notice is, that moral duties were explained, and their practice enforced, by allegories and comparisons of a new and whimsical kind, even by examples drawn from the natures, properties, and actions of the brute creation. These writers began, for instance, by explaining the nature and qualities of some particular animal, and then applied their description to human life and manners, to characterize the virtues and vices of moral agents. The most remarkable productions of this sort are NIEDER's *Formicarius*, a treatise concerning *Bees* by THOMAS BRABANTINUS, HUGO DE St. VICTOR's dissertation upon *Beasts*, and a tract of THOMAS

[i] JOH. RUYSBROCIUS inveighed bitterly against them, as appears from his *Work* published by LAUR. SURIUS, p. 50. 378. as also from his treatise *De vera contemplatione*, cap. xviii. p. 608.

WALLEY's, intitled, *The Nature of Brute Animals moralized.* C E N T
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VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, generally speaking, unequal to the glorious cause they undertook to support; nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, dexterity, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned BRADWARDINE, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things towards the confirmation of the truth of Christianity in general, in a *Book upon Providence*. The book, intitled, *Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos*, or, *Eye-salve of Faith against the Heretics*, shews that its author ALVARUS PELAGIUS was a well-meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhausted the subject in this performance. NICHOLAS LYRA wrote against the Jews, as did also PORCHETUS SALVATICUS, whose treatise, intitled, *The Triumph of Faith*, is chiefly borrowed from the writings of RAYMOND MARTIN. Both these writers are much inferior to THEOPHANES, whose *Book against the Jews*, and his *Harmony between the Old and New Testament*, contain many observations that are by no means contemptible.

IX. During this century, there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, which about this time was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, ANDRONICUS, the Younger, sent BARLAAM as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349, another Grecian embassy was sent to CLEMENT VI, for the same purpose, and, in 1356, a third was dispatched upon a like errand to INNOCENT VI, who resided at *Avignon*. Nor was this all; for, in the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at *Rome* in order to negotiate this important matter, and was followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himself JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, who undertook a journey into *Italy*, and, in order to conciliate the friendship and good-will of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman pontiff.

State of the
controversy
between the
Greeks and
Latins.

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P A R T II.

But, notwithstanding these prudent and pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks could not be persuaded by any means to drop the controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, though several of them, from views of interest or ambition, expressed a readiness to submit to its demands; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations [k].

The conten-
tion be-
tween the
university of
Paris and
the Domini-
cans.

Occasioned
by Monte-
sonus.

X. In the year 1384, a furious controversy arose at *Paris*, between the University there and the Dominican Order. The author of it was JOHN DE MONTESONO, a native of *Arragon*, a Dominican friar and professor of divinity, who, pursuant to the decisions and doctrine of his Order, publicly denied that the blessed Virgin MARY was conceived without any stain of original sin; and moreover asserted, that all who believed the *immaculate conception* were enemies of the true faith. The quarrel occasioned by this proceeding would certainly have been soon compromised, had not JOHN, in a public discourse, delivered some time in the year 1387, revived this opinion with more violence than ever. For this reason the college of divines, and afterwards the whole university, condemned this, and some other tenets of MONTESONUS. For it may be proper to inform the reader, that the university of *Paris*, principally induced thereto by the discourses of JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, had, from the beginning almost of this century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the holy Virgin [l]. Upon this, the Dominicans, together with their champion MONTESONUS, appealed from the sentence of the university to pope CLEMENT VII at *Avignon*, and raised an outcry, that St. THOMAS himself was condemned by the judgment passed upon their brother. But, before the pope could decide the affair, the accused friar fled from the court of *Avignon*, went over to the party of URBAN VI, who resided at *Rome*, and thus, during his ab-

[k] See HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369.—LEO. ALLATIUS, *De perpetua consensione eccles. orient. et occident.* lib. ii. cap. xvi, xvii. p. 782.—LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29. 40. 107. 201. 289. 303. 312.—STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 348. 380. 388. 403. 407. 410. 772.

[l] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52. f.

fence,

sence, was excommunicated. Whether or no the pope approved the sentence of the university of *Paris* we cannot say. The Dominicans, however, deny that he did, and affirm, that MONTESONUS was condemned purely on account of his flight [*m*]; though there are many others, who assert that his opinion was also condemned. And as the Dominicans would not acknowledge the sentence of the university to be valid, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not restored to their ancient honours in that learned body till the year 1404 [*n*].

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XIV.
PART II.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the Church during this century.

I. **W**E must confine ourselves to a general and superficial view of the alterations that were introduced into the ritual of the church during this century, since it cannot reasonably be expected we should insist largely upon this subject within the narrow limits of such a work as this. One of the principal circumstances that strikes us here, is the change that was made in the time of celebrating the jubilee. In the year 1350, CLEMENT VI, in compliance with the requests of the people of *Rome*, enacted, that the jubilee, which BONIFACE VIII had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century [*o*]. In favour of this alteration, he might have assigned a very plausible pretext; since it is well known that the Jews, whom the Roman pontiffs were always ready to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majesty, celebrated this sacred solemnity every fiftieth year. But URBAN VI, SIXTUS VI, and other popes, who ordered a more fre-

The alteration of the jubilee.

[*m*] See JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 691.

[*n*] CÆS. EGASS. DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 599. 618. 638. —STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 521. tom. ii. p. 992. —ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 61. —JAC. DE LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 347.

[*o*] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247. 287. 312. 887. —MURATORI *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344. 481.

CENT. XIV. PART II. quent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution, would have had more difficulty in attempting to satisfy those who might have demanded sufficient reasons to justify this inconstancy.

Festivals.

II. INNOCENT V instituted festivals sacred to the memory of the *lance* with which our Saviour's side was pierced, the *nails* that fastened him to the cross, and the crown of thorns he wore at his death [p]. This, though evidently absurd, was nevertheless pardonable upon the whole, considering the gross ignorance and stupidity of the times. But nothing can excuse the impious fanaticism and superstition of BENEDICT XII, who, by appointing a festival in honour of the marks of CHRIST's wounds, which, the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder by a miraculous interposition of the divine power, gave credit to that grossly ridiculous and blasphemous fable. Pope JOHN XXII, besides the sanction he gave to many other superstitions, ordered Christians to add to their prayers those words with which the angel GABRIEL saluted the Virgin MARY.

Prayers.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the Church during this century.

Controversies excited by the Quietists.

I. DURING some part of this century the *Hesychasts*, or, as the Latins call them, the *Quietists*, gave the Greek church a great deal of trouble. To assign the true source of it we must observe, that BARLAAM, a native of *Calabria*, who was a monk of St. BASIL, and afterwards bishop of *Gieraci*, in *Calabria*, made a progress through *Greece* to inspect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehensible. He was more especially offended at the *Hesychasts* of mount *Athos*, in *Thessaly*, who were the same with the Mystics, or more perfect monks, and

[p] See JO. HENR. A SEELEN, *Diff. de festo Lanceæ et clavorum Christi.* — BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion*, tom. i. p. 328. *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 417. who,

who, by a long course of intense contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a tranquillity of mind entirely free from every degree of tumult and perturbation. These *Quietists*, in compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal doctors (who imagined that there was a celestial light concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind) used to sit every day, during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immoveably fixed upon the middle region of the belly, or navel; and boasted, that, while they remained in this posture, they found in effect, a *divine light* beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of pleasure and delight [q]. To such as inquired what kind of *light* this was, they replied, by way of illustration, that it was the *glory of God*, the same celestial radiance that surrounded CHRIST during his transfiguration on the mount. BARLAAM, entirely unacquainted with the customs and manners of the *Mystics*,

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[q] We have no reason to be surprised at, and much less to disbelieve this account. For it is a fundamental rule with all those people in the eastern world, whether Christians, Mahometans, or Pagans (who maintain the necessity of abstracting the mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God, which is exactly the same thing with the *contemplative* and *mystic life* among the Latins), that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours upon some particular object; and that he who complies with this precept will be thrown into an extasy, in which, being united to God, he will see wonderful things, and be entertained with ineffable delights. See what is said concerning the *Siamese monks* and *Mystics* by ENGELB KÆMPFER, in his *History of Japan*, tom. i. p. 30. and also concerning those of *India*, in the *Voyages of Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily admit, that they who continue long in the abovementioned posture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in his senses ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combinations they form of the unconnected notions that arise to their fancy while their minds are in this odd and unnatural state, must be most singular and whimsical; and that so much the more, as the rule itself which prescribes the contemplation of a certain object as the means of arriving at a *vision of the Deity*, absolutely forbids all use of the faculty of reason during that extatic and sublime interval. This total suspension of reason and reflexion, during the period of contemplation, was not, however, peculiar to the eastern *Quietists*; the Latin *Mysticks* observed the same rule, and inculcated it upon their disciples. And from hence we may safely conclude, that the many surprising visions, of which these fanatics boast, are fables utterly destitute of reason and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

C E N T. looked upon all this as highly absurd and fanatical, and
 XIV. therefore styled the monks, who adhered to this institu-
 P A R T II. tion, *Massalians*, and *Euchites* [r], and also gave them the
 new name of *Umbilicani* [s]. On the other hand, GRE-
 GORY PALAMAS, archbishop of *Thessalonica*, defended
 the cause of these monks against BARLAAM [t].

The state of
 the contro-
 versy be-
 tween the
 Hesychasts
 and Barla-
 amites.

II. In order to put an end to this dissension, a council
 was held at *Constantinople* in the year 1341, in which the
 emperor himself ANDRONICUS the younger, and the
 patriarch, presided. Here PALAMAS and the monks
 triumphed over BARLAAM, who was condemned by the
 council; whereupon he left *Greece*, and returned to *Italy*.
 Not long after this, another monk, named GREGORY
 ACINDYNUS, renewed the controversy, and, in opposition
 to the opinion maintained by PALAMAS, denied that God
 dwelt in an eternal light distinct from his essence, as also
 that such a light was beheld by the disciples on mount
Tabor. The dispute was now no longer concerning the
 monks, but turned upon the light seen at mount *Tabor*,
 and also upon the nature and residence of the Deity.
 Nevertheless, he was condemned as a follower of BAR-
 LAAM, in another council held at *Constantinople*. Many
 assemblies were convened about this affair; but the most
 remarkable of them all, was that held in the year 1351,
 in which the Barlaamites and their adherents received
 such a fatal wound, in consequence of the severe de-
 crees enacted against them, that they were forced to
 yield, and leave the victory to PALAMAS. This pre-
 late maintained, that God was incircled, as it were, with
 an *eternal light*, which might be styled his *energy* or *opera-
 tion*, and was distinct from his nature and essence; and
 that he favoured the three disciples with a view of this
 light upon mount *Tabor*. Hence he concluded, that this
 divine *operation* was really different from the *substance* of

[r] The *Massalians* (so called from a Hebrew word which signifies
prayer, as *Euchites* from a Greek word of the same signification) formed
 themselves into a sect, during the fourth century, under the reign of CON-
 STANTINUS. Their tenets resembled those of the Quietists in several respects.

[s] Ομφαλόφυχοι.

[t] For an account of these two famous men, BARLAAM and GREGORY
 PALAMAS, see, in preference to all other writers, JO. ALB. FABRICIUS,
Biblioth. Græca, tom. x, p. 427. and 454.

the Deity; and further, that no Being could possibly partake of the divine *substance* or *essence*, but that finite natures might possess a share of his divine light, or *operation*. The Barlaamites, on the contrary, denied these positions, affirming, that the properties and operations of the Deity were not different from his *essence*, and that there was really no difference between the attributes and essence of God considered in themselves, but only in our conceptions of them, and reasonings upon them [u].

III. In the Latin church the *inquisitors*, those active ministers and executioners of papal justice, extended their vigilance to every quarter, and most industriously hunted out the remains of those sects who opposed the religion of *Rome*, even the *Waldenses*, the *Catharists*, the *Apostolists*, and others; so that the history of these times abounds with numberless instances of persons who were burnt, or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by these unrelenting instruments of superstitious vengeance. But none of these enemies of the church gave the *inquisitors* and bishops so much employment of this bloody kind, as the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, who went under the common name of *Beggards* and *Beguines* in *Germany* and *Flanders*, and were differently denominated in other provinces. For as this sort of people professed an uncommon and sublime sort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external and sensible parts of religion, and to win them over to the inward and spiritual worship of God, they were greatly esteemed by many plain, well-meaning persons, whose piety and simplicity were deceived by a profession so

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The severity
of the inquisition in the
western
world.

[u] See Jo. CANTACUZENUS, *Historia*, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 263. and GREGOR. PONTANUS. NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. xi. cap. x. p. 277. and in many other places. But these two writers disagree in many circumstances. Many materials relative to this controversy are yet unpublished (see MONTFAUCON. *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150. 174. 404.) Nor have we ever been favoured with an accurate and well-digested history of it. In the mean time, the reader may consult LEO ALATIUS, *De perpetua consensione Orient. et Occid. ecclesiae*, lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 824.—HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquae*, tom. iv. p. 361.—DION. PETAVIUS, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 76.—STEPH. DE ALTIMURA, *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcor*, p. 381, &c.

seducing,

C E N T. seducing, and thus made many converts to their opinions.
 XIV. It was on this account that such numbers of this turn
 P A R T II. and disposition perished in the flames of persecution during
 this century in *Italy, France, and Germany.*

Severe edicts
 against the
 Catharists,
 Beggards,
 Beguines,
 &c. IV. This sect was most numerous in those cities of
Germany that lay upon the *Rhine*, especially at *Cologne*,
 which circumstance induced HENRY I, archbishop of
 that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them,
 A. D. 1306 [w]; an example that was soon followed by
 the bishops of *Mentz, Triers, Worms, and Strasburg* [x].
 And as there were some subtile acute men belonging to
 this party, that eminently keen logician, JOHN DUNS
 SCOTUS [y], was sent to *Cologne*, in the year 1308, to dis-
 pute against them, and to vanquish them by dint of syl-
 logism. In the year 1310, the famous MARGARET
 PORETTA, who made such a shining figure in this sect,
 was burnt at *Paris* with one of the brethren. She had
 undertaken to demonstrate in an elaborate treatise, *That*
the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from the
restraint of every law, and may freely gratify all its natural
appetites, without contracting any guilt [z]. Pope CLE-
 MENT V, exasperated by this and other instances of the
 pernicious fanaticism that had got among this sect,
 published, in a general council held at *Vienne*, A. D.
 1311, a special constitution against the *Beggards* and
Beguines of *Germany*. And though the edict only men-
 tions imperfectly the opinions of this sect, yet, by the
 enumeration of them, we may easily perceive that the
Mystic brethren and sisters of the free spirit are the persons
 principally intended [a]. CLEMENT, in the same coun-
 cil, issued another constitution, by which he suppressed
 another and a very different sort of *Beguines* [b], who had

[w] See *Statuta Coloniensia*, published in 4to at *Cologne*, A. D. 1554, p. 58.

[x] JOHANNIS Scriptor. rerum *Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 298.—MAR-
 TENE, *Tbesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 250.

[y] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 108.

[z] LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 63 —JO. BA-
 LEUS, *De Scriptor. Britann. Centur.* iv. n. 88. p. 367. published in folio at
Basil, A. D. 1557.

[a] It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. inter Clementinas*, lib. v. tit. iii.
De Hæreticis, cap. iii. p. 1088.

[b] In *Jure Canonico inter Clementinas*, lib. iii. tit. xi. *De religiosis domibus*,
 cap. i. p. 1075. edit. Bohmer.

hitherto

hitherto been considered as a lawful and regular society, and lived every where in fixed habitations appropriated to their order, but were now corrupted by the fanatics above mentioned. For the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* had insinuated themselves into the greatest part of the convents of the *Beguines*, where they inculcated with great success their mysterious and sublime system of religion to these simple women. And these simple women were no sooner initiated into this brilliant and chimerical system, than they were captivated with its delusive charms, and babbled in the most absurd and impious manner concerning the true worship of the Deity [c].

V. The *Brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed the design of removing from *Upper Germany* into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was so far put in execution, as that *Westphalia* was the only province which refused admission to these dispersed fanatics, and was free from their disturbances. This was owing to the provident measures of HENRY, archbishop of *Cologne*, who having called a council, A. D. 1322, seriously admonished the bishops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent any of these people from coming into *Westphalia*. About the same time the *Beggards* [d] upon the *Rhine* lost their chief leader and champion, WALTER, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from *Mentz* to *Cologne*, where he was apprehended and burnt [e]. The death of this person

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Neverthe-
less, the Bre-
thren and
Sisters of the
free spirit
could not be
extirpated.

* [c] For this reason, in the German records of this century, we often find a distinction of the *Beguines* into those of the *right and approved class*, and those of the *sublime or free spirit*; the former of whom adhered to the public religion, while the latter were corrupted by the opinions of the *Mystics*.

[d] By *Beggards* here Dr. MOSHEIM means particularly the *Brethren of the free spirit*, who frequently passed under this denomination.

[e] JO. TRITHEMI *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 155.—SCHATEN, *Annal. Paderborn.* tom. ii. p. 250.—This is that famous WALTER whom so many ecclesiastical historians have represented as the founder of the sect of the *Lollards*, and as an eminent martyr to their cause. Learned men conclude all this and more from the following words of TRITHEMIUS. *But that same WALTER Lobareus* (so it stands in my copy, though I fancy

was

CENT. was highly detrimental to the affairs of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, but did not, however, ruin their cause nor extirpate their sect. For it appears from innumerable testimonies, that these people, for a long time afterwards, not only held their private assemblies at *Cologne*, and in many other provinces of *Germany*, but also that they had several men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number **HENRY AYCARDUS**, or **ECCARD**, a Saxon, was the most famous. He was a Dominican, and also the superior of that order in *Saxony*; a man of a subtile genius, and one who had acquitted himself with reputation as professor of divinity at *Paris* [f]. In the year 1330, pope **JOHN XXII** endeavoured to suppress this obstinate sect by a new and severe constitution, in which the errors of the sect of the *free spirit* are marked out in a more distinct and accurate manner than in the *Clementina* [g]. But his attempt was fruitless, the disorder continued, and was combated both by the inquisitors and bishops in most parts of *Europe* to the end of this century.

it ought to have been *Lollbardus*; especially as **TRITHEMIUS**, according to the custom of his time, frequently uses this word when treating of the sects that dissented from the church) a native of *Holland*, was not well versed in the *Latin tongue*. I say, from this short passage, learned men have concluded that **WALTER**'s surname was *Lollbard*; from whence, as from its founder and master, they supposed his sect derived the name of *Lollards*. But it is very evident, not only from this, but from many other passages of **TRITHEMIUS**, that *Lollbard* was no surname, but merely a term of reproach applied to all heretics whatever who concealed the poison of error under the appearance of piety. **TRITHEMIUS**, speaking of the very same man, in a passage which occurs a little before that we have just quoted, calls him the head of the *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*: but the term *Minorites* was a very extensive one, including people of various sects. This **WALTER** embraced the opinions of the *Mystics*, and was the principal doctor among those *Brethren of the free spirit*, who lived on the banks of the *Rhine*.

[f] See **ECHARDI** *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 507.—**ODOR. RAYNALDUS**, *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1329. § lxx. p. 389.

[g] This new constitution of **JOHN XXII** was never published entire. It began with the following words: *In agro Dominico*, and was inscribed thus, *contra singularia, dubia, suspecta, et temeraria, quæ Begbardi et Begbina prædicant et observant*. We are favoured with a summary of it by **HERM. CORNERUS**, in *Chrénico*, in **ECCARDI** *Corpore Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by **PAUL LANGIUS**,

VI. The

VI. The *Clementina*, or constitution of the council of ^{C E N T.} *Vienne* against the *Beguines*, or those female societies who ^{XIV.} lived together in fixed habitations under a common rule ^{P A R T II.} of pious discipline and virtuous industry, gave rise to The perfec-
a persecution of these people, which lasted till the refor- tion of the
mation by LUTHER, and ruined the cause both of the *Beguines*,
Beguines and *Beggards* in many places. For though the and its tra-
pope, in his last constitution, had permitted pious women to gical con-
live as nuns in a state of celibacy, with or without tak- clusion.
ing the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of
them as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren*
of the free spirit; yet the vast number of enemies which
the *Beguines* and *Beggards* had, partly among the me-
chanics, especially the weavers, and partly among the
priests and monks, took a handle from the *Clementina*
to molest the *Beguines* in their houses, to seize and de-
stroy their goods, to offer them many other insults,
and to involve the *Beggards* in the like persecution.
The Roman pontiff JOHN XXII afforded the *Beguines*
some relief under these oppressions, in the year 1324,
by means of a special constitution, in which he gave a
favourable explication of the *Clementina*, and ordered that
the goods, chattels, habitations, and societies of the in-
nocent *Beguines* should be preserved from every kind of
violence and insult; which example of clemency and
moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. On
the other hand, the *Beguines*, in hopes of disappointing
more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies,
and avoiding their snares, embraced in many places the
third rule of St. FRANCIS, and of the AUGUSTINES. Yet
all these measures in their favour could not prevent the
loss both of their reputation and substance; for from this
time they were oppressed in several provinces by the ma-
gistrates, the clergy, and the monks, who had cast a
greedy eye upon their treasures, and were extremely
eager to divide the spoil [b].

in *Chronico Citizensi*, in JO. PISTORII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. i.
p. 1206.

[b] I have collected a great number of particulars relating to this long per-
secution of the *Beguines*. But the most copious of all the writers who have
published any thing upon this subject (especially if we consider his account of
the persecution at *Basil*, and MULEBERGIUS, the most inveterate enemy of

VII. Some

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XIV.
P A R T II.

The sect of
the Flagel-
lants ap-
pears again.

VII. Some years, before the middle of this century, while *Germany* and many other parts of *Europe* were distressed with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a sect forgotten almost every where, and especially in *Germany*, made their appearance anew, and, rambling through many provinces, occasioned great disturbances. These new *Flagellants*, whose enthusiasm infected every rank, sex, and age, were much worse than the old ones. They not only supposed that God might be prevailed upon to shew mercy to those who underwent voluntary punishments, but propagated other tenets highly injurious to religion. They held, among other things, "That flagellation was of equal virtue with baptism, and the other sacraments: that the forgiveness of all sins was to be obtained by it from God, without the merits of JESUS CHRIST; that the old law of CHRIST was soon to be abolished, and that a new law enjoining the baptism of blood, to be administered by whipping, was to be substituted in its place," with other tenets more or less enormous than these; whereupon CLEMENT VII thundered out anathemas against the Flagellants, who were burnt by the *inquisitors* in several places. It was, however, found as difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to suppress the other sects of wandering fanatics [i]

The sect of
the Dancers.

VIII. Directly the reverse of this melancholy sect was the merry one of the *Dancers*, which, in the year 1373, arose at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, from whence it spread through the district of *Liege*, *Hainault*, and other parts of *Flanders*. It was customary among the fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly, as well as in private, to fall a dancing all of a sudden, and, holding each others hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together; and they affirmed, that, during these intervals of vehement

the *Beguines*), is CHRISTIANUS WURSTISEN, or URSISIUS, in his *Chronicum Basiliense*, written in German, lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 201. published in folio at *Basil*, 1580. There are now in my hands, and also in many libraries, MSS tracts of this celebrated MULBERGIUS, written against the *Beguines* in the following century.

[i] See BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 160. 316. 319. & *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 50.—MATTHÆI *Analeſta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 50. tom. iii. p. 241. tom. iv. p. 145.—HERM. GYGIS, *Flores tempor.* p. 139.

agitation,

agitation, they were favoured with wonderful visions. C E N T.
 Like the *Flagellants*, they wandered about from place to place, had recourse to begging for their subsistence, treated with the utmost contempt both the priesthood and the public rites and worship of the church, and held secret assemblies. Such was the nature, and such the circumstances of this new frenzy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who possessed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly the priests of *Liege* endeavoured to cast out the devils, which rendered these fanatics so merry, by singing hymns and applying fumigations of incense: and they gravely tell us, that the evil spirit was entirely vanquished by these powerful charms [k].

IX. The most heinous and abominable tribe of heretics that infected this century (if the enormities, with which they stand charged, be true) were the *Knights Templars*, who had been established in *Palestine* about two hundred years before this period, and who are represented as enemies and deriders of all religion. Their principal accuser indeed was a person whose testimony ought not to be admitted without caution. This accuser was PHILIP the Fair, who addressed his complaints of the Templars to CLEMENT V, who was himself an avaritious, vindictive, and turbulent prince. The pope, though at first unwilling to proceed against them, was under a necessity of complying with the king's desire; so that, in the year 1307, upon an appointed day, and for some time afterwards, all the knights, who were dispersed throughout *Europe*, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending evil, were seized and imprisoned. Such of them as refused to confess the enormities of which they were accused, were put to death; and those who, by tortures and promises, were induced to acknowledge the truth of what was laid to their charge, obtained

The
Knights
Templars
extirpated.

[k] See BALUZZI *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 485.—ANT. MATTHEI *Analeſta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 51. where we find the following passage in the Belgic chronicle, which gives but an obscure account of the sect in question: A. 1374. *Gingen de Dansers*, and then in Latin, *Gens impacata cadit, cruciata salvat*. The French *convulsionists* [or prophets], who in our age were remarkable for the vehemence and variety of their agitations, greatly resembled these brethren and sister Dancers.

their

CENT. XIV. their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was
 PART II. extinguished by the council of *Vienne*. A part of the
 rich revenues they possessed was bestowed upon other
 orders, especially on the knights of St. JOHN, now of
Malta, and the rest confiscated to the respective treasuries
 of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their pos-
 sessions lay.

The intoler-
 able impiety
 of the
 Knights
 Templars is
 assigned as
 the cause of
 this severity.

A reflexion
 concerning
 the crimes
 laid to their
 charge.

X. The *Knights Templars*, if their judges be worthy
 of credit, were a set of men who insulted the majesty of
 God, turned into derision the gospel of CHRIST, and
 trampled upon the obligation of all laws human and di-
 vine. For it is affirmed, that candidates, upon their ad-
 mission to this order, were commanded to spit, as a mark
 of contempt, upon an image of CHRIST; and that, after
 admission, they were bound to worship either a cat, or a
 wooden head covered with gold. It is farther affirmed,
 that among them, the odious and unnatural act of sodo-
 my was a matter of obligation; that they committed to
 the flames the unhappy fruit of their lawless amours, and
 added to these, other crimes too horrible to be mentioned,
 or even imagined. It will indeed be readily allowed that
 in this order, as in all the other religious societies of this
 age, there were shocking examples of impiety and wick-
 edness; but that the whole order of the *Templars* was
 thus enormously corrupt, is so far from being proved, that
 the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and
 records, yet extant, of the tribunals before which they
 were tried and examined. If to this we add, that many
 of the accusations advanced against them flatly contradict
 each other, and that many members of this unfortunate
 order solemnly avowed their innocence, while languishing
 under the severest tortures, and even with their dying
 breath; it would seem probable, that king PHILIP set on
 foot this bloody tragedy, with a view to gratify his ava-
 rice, and glut his resentment against the *Templars* [1],

[1] See the *Acts* annexed to PUTEAN's *Histoire de la Condemnation des Tem-
 pliers*, and other writings of his, relating to the history of *France*, published
 in 4to at *Paris*, 1654. Another edition of this book was printed in 8vo
 at *Paris*, 1685: another at *Brussels*, 1713, two volumes in 8vo. The fourth,
 and most valuable of all, was published in 4to at *Brussels*, 1751, enlarged by the
 addition of a great number of proofs, by which every diligent and impartial rea-
 der will be convinced that the *Templars* were greatly injured. See also

and especially against their grand master, who had highly
offended him.

E N T.

XIV.

PART II.

NICOLAI GÜRTLERI *Historia Templariorum*, Amstelod. 1703, in 8vo. If the reader has opportunity, he would do well to consult STEPH. BALUZIUS, *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 8. 11, 12, &c. GERR. DU BOIS, *Histor. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king PHILIP'S indelible hatred against the Templars was, that, in his quarrel with BONIFACE VIII, the knights espoused the cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the war; an offence this, which PHILIP could never pardon.

T H E
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

P A R T I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the Church
during this century.*

CENT. I.
XV.
PART I.

The Moors
and Jews
converted in
Spain by
force.

THE new subjects, that were added to the kingdom of CHRIST in this century, are altogether unworthy of that sublime title, unless we prostitute it by applying it to those who made an external, though insincere, profession of Christianity. FERDINAND, surnamed the *Catholic*, by the conquest of *Granada* in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens, in *Spain*. Some time after this happy revolution, he issued out a sentence of banishment against a prodigious multitude of Jews, who, to avoid the execution of this severe decree, dissembled their sentiments, and feigned an assent to the Gospel of CHRIST [a]: and it is well known that, to this very day, there are both in *Spain* and *Portugal* a great number of that dispersed and wretched people, who wear the outward mask of Christianity, to secure them against the rage of persecution, and to advance their worldly interests. The myriads of Saracens, that remained in *Spain* after the dissolution of their government, were at first solicited by exhortations and intreaties to embrace the

[a] JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hist. Generale d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 123. 132, &c.

Gospel.

Gospel. When these gentle methods proved ineffectual C E N T.
XV.
P A R T I. to bring about their conversion, the famous XIMENES, archbishop of *Toledo*, and prime-minister of the kingdom, judged it expedient to try the force of the secular arm, in order to accomplish that salutary purpose. But even this rigorous measure was without the desired effect: the greatest part of the Mahometans persisted, with astonishing obstinacy, in their fervent attachment to their voluptuous prophet [b].

II. The light of the Gospel was also carried in this century among the Samoetæ and the neighbouring nations, but with less fruit than was expected [c]. Towards the conclusion of this age, the Portuguese, who cultivated with ardor and success the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as *Æthiopia* and the *Indies*. In the year 1492, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by discovering the islands of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, and *Jamaica*, opened a passage into *America* [d], and after him AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a citizen of *Florence*, landed on the continent of that vast region [e]. The new Argonauts, who discovered these nations that had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of *Europe*, judged it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The first attempt of this pious nature was made by the Portuguese among those Africans, who inhabit the kingdom of *Congo*, and who, together with their monarch, were converted all of a sudden to the Roman faith in the year 1491 [f]. But what must we think of a conversion brought about with such astonishing rapidity, and of a people which all at once without hesitation abandon their ancient and inveterate prejudices? Has not such a conversion a ridiculous, or rather an afflicting, aspect?

[b] ESPRIT FLECHIER, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89.—GEDDES, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. 3.

[c] JO. HENRY HOTTINGER. *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xv.* p. 856.

[d] See CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de l'Isle de St. Domingo*, tom. i. p. 64.

[e] See the *Life of Americus Vesputius*, written in Italian by the learned ANGELI MARIA BANDINI.

[f] LABAT, *Relation de l'Ethiophe Occidentale*, tom. ii. p. 366.—JOS. FRANG. LAFITAU, *Histoire des decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 72.

CENT. After this religious revolution in *Africa*, ALEXANDER VI
 XV. gave a rare specimen of papal presumption, in dividing
 PART I. *America* between the Portuguese and Spaniards, but
 shewed at the same time his zeal for the propagation of
 the Gospel, by the ardor with which he recommended to
 these two nations the instruction and conversion of the
 Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of
 that immense region [g]. In consequence of this exhort-
 ation of the pontiff, a great number of Franciscans and
 Dominicans were sent into these countries to enlighten
 their darkness, and the success of their missions is abund-
 antly known [b].

CHAP. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church
 during this century.*

The decline
 of Christiani-
 ty in the
 East.

I. IN the vast regions of the eastern world, Christianity
 lost ground from day to day, and the Mahometans,
 whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts
 to extinguish its bright and salutary lustre. In *Asiatic
 Tartary*, *Mogol*, *Tangut*, and the adjacent provinces,
 where the religion of JESUS had long flourished, were
 now become the dismal seats of superstition, which reign-
 ed among them under the vilest forms. Nor in these
 immense tracts of land were there at this time any traces
 of Christianity visible, except in *China*, where the Ne-
 storians still preserved some scattered remains of their
 former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper
 in the midst of a dark and gloomy firmament. That
 some Nestorian churches were still subsisting in these
 regions of darkness is undoubtedly certain; for in this
 century the Nestorian pontiff, in *Chaldæa*, sent missio-
 naries into *Cathay* and *China*, who were empowered to
 exercise the authority of bishops over the Christian as-

[g] See the *Bull* itself, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 466.

[b] See THOM. MARIA MAMACHIUS, *Orig. et Antiquitat. Christianar.*
 tom. ii. p. 326. where we have an account of the gradual introduction of
 the Christian religion into *America*.—See also WADDING, *Annal. Minor.*
 tom. xv. p. 10.

semblies,

semblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of these great empires [i]. It is at the same time almost equally certain, that even these assemblies did not survive this century.

II. The ruin of the Grecian empire was a new source of calamities to the Christian church in the greatest part of *Europe* and *Asia*. When the Turks, headed by MAHOMET II, an accomplished prince and a formidable warrior, had made themselves masters of *Constantinople*, in the year 1453; the cause of Christianity received a blow from which it has never, as yet, recovered. Its adherents in these parts had no resources left, which could enable them to maintain it against the perpetual insults of their fierce and incensed victors; nor could they stem that torrent of barbarism and ignorance that rushed in with the triumphant arms of MAHOMET, and overspread *Greece* with a fatal rapidity. The Turks took one part of the city of *Constantinople* by force of arms; the other surrendered upon terms [k]. Hence it was that in the former the public profession of the Gospel was prohibited, and every vestige of Christianity effaced; while the inhabitants of the latter were permitted to retain their churches and monasteries during the whole course of this century, and to worship God according to the precepts of the gospel and the dictates of their consciences. This precious liberty was, indeed, considerably diminished under the reign of SELIM I, and the Christian worship was loaded with severe and despotic restrictions [l]. The outward form of the Christian church was not, indeed, either changed or destroyed by the Turks; but its lustre was eclipsed, its strength was undermined, and it was gradually extenuated to a mere shadow under their

[i] This circumstance was communicated to the author in a letter from the learned Mr. THEOPHILUS SIGIFRED BAYER, one of the greatest adepts in Eastern History and Antiquities, that this or any other age has produced.

[k] In this account Dr. MOSHEIM has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose, that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true.

[l] DEMET. CANTEMIR, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 11. 46. 54, 55.

CENT. tyrannic empire. The Roman pontiff PIUS II wrote a
XV.
PART I. warm and urgent letter to MAHOMET II, to persuade
that prince to profess the Gospel; but this letter is
equally destitute of piety and prudence [m].

[m] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article MAHOMET II.

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. **T**HE Grecian and Oriental Muses languished CENT.
XV.
PART II.
under the despotic yoke of the Mahometans, Learning
flourishes
among the
Latins.
their voices were mute, and their harps unstrung. The republic of letters had a quite different aspect in the Latin world, where the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with zeal and spirit under the most auspicious encouragements, and recovered their ancient lustre and glory. Several of the popes became their zealous patrons and protectors, among whom NICHOLAS V deserves an eminent and distinguished rank; the munificence and authority of kings and princes were also nobly exerted in this excellent cause, and animated men of learning and genius to display their talents. The illustrious family of the MEDICIS in *Italy* [n], ALPHONSUS VI, king of *Naples*, and the other Neapolitan monarchs of the house of *Arragon* [o], acquired immortal renown by their love of letters, their liberality to the learned, and their ardent zeal for the advancement of science. Hence the academies that were founded in *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, the libraries that were collected at a prodigious expence, and the honours and

[n] We have a full account of the obligations, which the republic of letters has to the family of MEDICIS, in a valuable work of JOSEPH BRANCHINI DE PRATO, *Del gran Ducbi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici, Protettori delle Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Historici*, published in folio at *Venice*, in 1741.

[o] See GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 500. 628.—ANTON. PANORMITANI *Dicta et Facta memorabilia Alphonsi I, denuo Edita* à JO. GERR. MEUSCHENIO *Vit. Erud. Viror.* tom. ii. p. 1.

P 4

rewards

C E N T.
XV.
P A R T II.

T. rewards that were proposed to the studious youth, to animate their industry by the views of interest and the desire of glory. To all these happy circumstances, in favour of the sciences, was now added an admirable discovery, which contributed as much as any thing else to their propagation, I mean the *art of printing*, first with wooden, and afterwards with metal types, which was invented about the year 1440, at *Mentz*, by JOHN GUTTEMBERG. By the succours of this incomparable art, the productions of the most eminent Greek and Latin writers, which had lain concealed, before this interesting period, in the libraries of the monks, were now spread abroad with facility, and perused by many, who could never have had access to them under their primitive form [p]. The perusal of these noble compositions purified the taste, excited the emulation of men of genius,

[p] Dr. MOSHEIM decides here, that GUTTEMBERG of *Mentz* was the first inventor of the art of printing; but this notion is opposed with zeal by several men of learning. Among the many treatises that have been published upon this subject, there is none composed with more erudition and judgment than that of professor SCHOEFFLIN of *Straßbourg*, in which the learned author undertakes to prove, that the art of printing, by the means of letters engraven on plates of wood, was invented at *Harlem* by COSTER; that the method of printing, by moveable types, was the discovery of JOHN GUTTEMBERG, a discovery made during his residence at *Straßbourg*; and that the still more perfect manner of printing with types of metal cast in a mould, was the contrivance of JOHN SCHOEFFER, and was first practised at *Mentz*. This learned work, in which the author examines the opinions of MARCHAND, FOURNIER, and other writers, was published in the year 1760, at *Straßbourg*, under the following title: JO. DANIELIS SCHOEFFLINI *Consil. Reg. ac Franciæ Historiogr. VINDICIÆ TYPOGRAPHICÆ*, &c.*.

* So this note stands in the first edition of this History in 4to. Since that time, the very learned and ingenious Mr. GERARD MEERMAN, pensionary of *Rotterdam*, has published his laborious and interesting account of the origin and invention of the art of printing, under the following title: *Origines Typographicæ*, which sets this matter in its true light, by making certain distinctions unknown to the writers who have treated this subject before him. According to the hypothesis of this learned writer (an hypothesis supported by irresistible proofs), LAURENT COSTER, of *Harlem*, invented the moveable wooden types.—GENFLEISCH and GUTTEMBERG carved *metallie* types at *Mentz*, which, though superior to the former, were still imperfect, because often unequal.—SCHOEFFER perfected the invention at *Straßbourg*, by casting the types in an iron mould, or *matrix*, engraved with a puncheon. Thus the question is decided.—LAURENT COSTER is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect.

and

and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in C E N T.
the same way [q]. XV.

II. The downfall of the Grecian empire contributed PART II.
greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning The calamities of the
in the west. For, after the reduction of *Constantinople*, Greeks conduces to the
the most eminent of the Greek *Literati* passed into *Italy*, advance-
and were from thence dispersed into the other countries ment of
of *Europe*, where, to gain a subsistence, these venerable learning
exiles instructed every where the youth in Grecian among the
erudition, and propagated throughout the western world Latins.
the love of learning, and a true and elegant taste for the
sciences. Hence it was that every noted city and uni-
versity possessed one or more of these learned Greeks,
who formed the studious youth to literary pursuits [r].
But they received no where such encouraging marks of
protection and esteem as in *Italy*, where they were ho-
noured in a singular manner in various cities, and were
more especially distinguished by the family of MEDICIS,
whose liberality to the learned had no bounds. It was
consequently in *Italy*, that these ingenious fugitives
were most numerous; and hence that country became,
in some measure, the center of the arts and sciences, and
the general rendezvous of all who were ambitious of
literary glory [s].

III. The greatest part of the learned men, who Philology,
adorned at this time the various provinces of *Italy*, poetry, and
were principally employed in publishing accurate and languages
elegant editions of the most eminent Greek and Latin cultivated.
authors, illustrating these authors with useful commen-
taries, in studying them as their models both in poetry
and prose, and in casting light upon the precious re-
mains of antiquity, that were discovered from day to
day. In all these branches of literature, many arrived at

[q] MICH. MATTAIRE, *Annales Typographici*.—PROSP. MARCHAND, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, Hays, 1740.

[r] JO. HENR. MAII *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11. 13. 19. 28. 152, 153. 165.
—CASP. BARTHII *ad Statium*, tom. ii. p. 1008.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad.*
tom. v. p. 692.

[s] For a farther account of this interesting period of the History of
Learning, the reader may consult the learned Work of HUMPHR. HODY,
De Græcis illustribus literarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus, published in
8vo at *Leipsic*, in the year 1750. To which may be added, SAM. BATTI-
ERII *Oratio de instauratoribus Græcarum literarum*, published in the *Museum*
Helveticum, tom. iv. p. 163.

C E N T. such degrees of excellence, as it is almost impossible to
 XV. surpass, and extremely difficult to equal. Nor were the
 PART II. other languages and sciences neglected. In the university
 of *Paris*, there was now a public professor not only of
 the Greek, but also of the Hebrew tongue [t]; and in
Spain and *Italy* the study of that language, and of Ori-
 ental learning and antiquities in general, was pursued
 with the greatest success [u]. JOHN REUCHLINUS, other-
 wise called CAPNION, and TRITHEMIUS, who had made
 a vast progress both in the study of the languages and
 of the sciences, were the restorers of solid learning
 among the *Germans* [w]; Latin poetry was revived by
 ANTONIUS PANORMITANUS, who excited a spirit of
 emulation among the favourites of the Muses, and had
 many followers in that sublime art [x]; while CYRIAC
 of *Ancona*, by his own example, introduced a taste for
 coins, medals, inscriptions, gems, and other precious
 monuments of antiquity, of which he himself made a
 large collection in *Italy* [y].

The state of
 the Aristo-
 telian and
 Platonic
 philosophy.

IV. It is not necessary to give here a particular and
 minute account of the other branches of literature that
 flourished in this century; nevertheless, the state of phi-
 losophy deserves a moment's attention. Before the ar-
 rival of the Greeks in *Italy*, ARISTOTLE reigned unri-
 valled there, and captivated, as it were by a sort of
 enchantment, all without exception, whose genius
 led them to philosophical inquiries. The veneration
 that was shewn him degenerated into a foolish and ex-
 travagant enthusiasm; the encomiums with which he
 was loaded surpassed the bounds of decency; and many
 carried matters so far as to compare him with the re-

[t] R. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles. par DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 502.
 512.—EQUILAY, *Hist. Paris.* tom. v. p. 852.

[u] PAULI COLUMESII *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4. et *Hispania Orientalis*,
 p. 212.

[w] R. SIMON, *Lettres Choises*, tom. i. p. 262. tom. iv. p. 131. 140.

[x] BAYLE'S *Dictionary*. at the article PANORMIT.

[y] See the *Itinerarium* of CYRIAC of *Ancona*, published at *Florence* in
 the year 1742, in 8vo, by Mr. LAWRENCE MEHUS, from the original
 manuscript, together with a Preface, Annotations, and several Letters of this
 learned man, who may be considered as the first antiquarian that appeared in
Europe.—See also LEONH. ARETINI *Epistolæ*, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

spectable

spectable precursor of the Messiah [z]. This violent passion for the Stagirite was however abated, or rather was rendered less universal, by the influence which the Grecian sages, and particularly GEMISTIVS PLETHO, acquired among the Latins, many of whom they persuaded to abandon the contentious and subtle doctrine of the Peripatetics, and to substitute in its place the mild and divine wisdom of PLATO. It was in the year 1439, about the time of the famous council of *Florence*, that this revolution happened in the empire of philosophy. Several illustrious personages among the Latins, charmed with the sublime sentiments and doctrines of PLATO, had them propagated among the studious youth, and particularly among those of a certain rank and figure. The most eminent patron of this *divine* philosophy, as it was termed by its votaries, was COSMO DE MEDICIS, who had no sooner heard the lectures of PLETHO, than he formed the design of founding a Platonic academy at *Florence*. For this purpose he ordered MARSILIUS FICINUS, the son of his first physician, to be carefully instructed in the doctrines of the Athenian sage, and, in general, in the language and philology of the Greeks, that he might translate into Latin the productions of the most renowned Platonists. FICINUS answered well the expectations, and executed the intentions of his illustrious patron, by translating successively into the Latin language the celebrated works of HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, PLOTINUS, and PLATO. The same excellent prince encouraged by his munificence, and animated by his protection, many learned men, such as AMBROSE of *Camaldoli*, LEONARDO BRUNO, POGGE, and others, to undertake works of a like nature, even to enrich the Latin literature with translations of the best Greek writers. The consequence of all this was, that two philosophical sects arose in *Italy*, who debated for a long time (with the warmest animosity in a multitude of learned and contentious productions) this important question, which of the two was the greatest philosopher, ARISTOTLE or PLATO [a].

[z] See CHRIST. AUG. HEUMANNI *Acta Philosophorum*, tom. iii. p. 345.

[a] BOIVIN, dans *L'Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*. V. Between

CENT.
XV.
PART II.

The Plato-
nic Syncre-
tists,

V. Between these two opposite factions certain eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class belong JOHANNES PICUS DE MIRANDOLA, BESSARION, HERMOLAUS BARBARUS, and others of less renown, who indeed considered PLATO as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer ARISTOTLE to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern Platonic school, of which AMMONIUS was the original founder [b]. Their sect was, for a long time, held in the utmost veneration, particularly among the Mystics; while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the Peripatetics. But, after all, these reconciling Platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflexion or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

The followers of Aristotle maintain their superiority.

VI. Their system of philosophy was, however, much less pernicious than that of the Aristotelians, their adversaries, who still maintained their superiority in *Italy*, and instructed the youth in all the public schools of learning. For these subtle doctors, and more especially the followers of AVERROES (who maintained that all the hu-

tres, tom. iv. p. 381.—LAUNOIUS, *De varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 225.—LEO ALLATIUS, *De Georgiis*, p. 391.—LA CROZE, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets*, p. 384.—JOSEPH BIANCHINI, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of MEDICIS, which we have mentioned note [n].—BRUCKERI *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 62.

It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, considered in that point of light, that was debated in this controversy: The principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity; and here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by PLETHO and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of ARISTOTLE lead directly to atheism.

[b] See BESSARION'S Letter in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. v. p. 456.—THOMASIIUS, *De Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in *Orationibus ejus*, p. 340.

man race were animated by one common soul) sapped imperceptibly the foundations of both natural and revealed religion, and entertained sentiments very little, if at all, different from that impious pantheistical system, which confounds the Deity with the universe, and acknowledges but one self-existent Being, composed of *infinite matter* and *infinite intelligence*. The most eminent among this class of sophists was PETER POMPONACE, a native of *Mantua*, a man of a crafty turn, and an arrogant, enterprising spirit, who, notwithstanding the pernicious tendency of his writings (many of which are yet extant) to undermine the principles and to corrupt the doctrines of religion [c], was almost universally followed by all the professors of philosophy in the Italian academies. These intricate doctors did not, however, escape the notice of the inquisitors, who, alarmed both by the rapid progress and dangerous tendency of their metaphysical notions, took cognizance of them, and called the Aristotelians to give an account of their principles. The latter, tempering their courage with craft, had recourse to a mean and perfidious stratagem to extricate themselves out of this embarrassing trial. They pretended to establish a wide distinction between philosophical and theological truth; and, maintaining that their sentiments were *philosophically true* and conformable to right reason, they allowed them to be esteemed *theologically false*, and contrary to the declarations of the Gospel. This miserable and impudent subterfuge was condemned and prohibited in the following century by LEO X, in a council held at the Lateran.

VII. The *Realists* and *Nominalists* continued their disputes in *France* and *Germany* with more vigour and animosity than ever, and, finding reason and argument but feeble weapons, they had recourse to mutual invectives and accusations, penal laws, and even to the force of arms; a strange method surely, of deciding a metaphysical question. The contest was not only warm, but also universal in its extent; for it infected, almost without exception, all the *French* and *German* academies. In

The controversy between the Realists and Nominalists continued.

[c] See the very learned BRUCKER's *Historia Critica Philosophia*, tom. iv. p. 158.

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most places, however, the *Realists* maintained a manifest superiority over the *Nominalists*, to whom they also gave the appellation of *Terminists* [d]. While the famous GERSON and the most eminent of his disciples were living, the *Nominalists* were in high esteem and credit in the university of *Paris*. But upon the death of these powerful and respectable patrons, the face of things was entirely changed, and that much to their disadvantage. In the year 1473, LEWIS XI, by the instigation of his confessor the bishop of *Avanches*, issued out a severe edict against the doctrines of the *Nominalists*, and ordered all their writings to be seized, and secured in a sort of imprisonment, that they might not be perused by the people [e]. But the same monarch mitigated this edict the year following, and permitted some of the books of that sect to be delivered from their confinement [f]. In the year 1481, he went much farther; and not only granted a full liberty to the *Nominalists* and their writings, but also restored that philosophical sect to its former authority and lustre in the university [g].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the Church, and its form of government, during this century.

The vices of
the clergy.

I. THE most eminent writers of this century unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the Christian church was reduced by the corruption of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpose, by

[d] See BRUCKER's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 904.—JO. SALABERTI *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i.—BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 531.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio documentor. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 22c.

[e] NAUDE's *Additions à l'Histoire de Louis XI*, p. 203.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. v. p. 678. 705. 708.—LAUNOY's *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 201. 378.

[f] BOULAY, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 710.

[g] The proofs of this we find in SALABERT's *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104.—See also BOULAY, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 739. 747.

extraordinary

extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation. CENT.
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The vices that reigned among the Roman pontiffs, and indeed, among all the ecclesiastical order, were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear at all exaggerated, or their apprehensions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the sharpness of their censures and of their complaints. Nay, the more eminent rulers of the church, who lived in a luxurious indolence and in the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, these bold censurers, who declaimed against the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was almost nothing sound either in its visible head, or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm and the destroying sword to lop off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervor against the court of *Rome*, its lordly pontiff, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

II. At the commencement of this century, the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, BONIFACE IX, who remained at *Rome*, and BENEDICT XIII, who resided at *Avignon*. Upon the death of the former, the *Cardinals* of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, COSMAT DE MELIORATI, who assumed the name of INNOCENT VII [b], and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, ANGELI CORRARIO, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under

The great
western
schism fo-
mented and
continued.

[b] Besides the ordinary writers, who have given us an account of the transactions that happened under the pontificate of INNOCENT VII, see LEON. ARETIN. *Epistol.* lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 6. 19. 21. lib. ii. p. 30. et COLLUC. SALUTAT. *Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. i. p. 1. 18. edit. *Florent.*—We have also an account of the pontificate of GREGORY, in the *Epistles* of the same ARETIN, lib. ii. iii. p. 32. ep. vii. p. 39. 41. 51. lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54. 56. 59.—JO. LAMI *Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. x. p. 494.

CENT. the title of GREGORY XII. A plan of reconciliation
 XV. was however formed, and the contending pontiffs bound
 PART II. themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step were necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both violated this solemn obligation in a scandalous manner. BENEDICT XIII, besieged in *Avignon* by the king of *France*, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into *Catalonia*, his native country, and afterwards to *Perpignan*. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals, who adhered to his cause, seeing themselves deserted by their pope, went over to the other side, and, joining publicly with the cardinals of GREGORY XII, they agreed together to assemble a council at *Pisa* on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings, indeed, were vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced the 5th day of June, against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and separated *ipso facto* from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of one pontiff in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon PETER of CANDIA, known in the papal list by the name of ALEXANDER V [i]; but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. BENEDICT assembled a council at *Perpignan*; and GREGORY, another at *Austria* near *Aquileia*, in the district of *Friuli*. The latter, however, apprehending

[i] See LENFANT's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, published in 4to at Amsterdam, in the year 1724.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350.—BOSSUET, *Defensio Decreti Gallicani de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

the resentment of the Venetians [k], made his escape in a clandestine manner from the territory of *Aquileia*, arrived at *Caieta*, where he threw himself upon the protection of LADISLAUS, king of *Naples*, and, in the year 1412, fled from thence to *Rimini*.

III. Thus was the Christian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. ALEXANDER V, who had been elected pontiff at the council of *Pisa*, died at *Bologna* in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by chusing as his successor BALTHASAR COSSA, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles both of religion and probity, and who assumed the title of JOHN XXIII. The duration of this schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations where the flame raged. Hence it was, that the emperor SIGISMUND, the king of *France*, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expence, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. On the other hand, the pontiffs could not be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other possible method of accommodating this weighty matter remained, than the assembling of a general council, in which the controversy might be examined and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at *Constance*, in the year 1414, by JOHN XXIII, who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of SIGISMUND, and also from an expectation that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended with a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this famous council, which was also honoured with the presence of the emperor SIGIS-

The council
of *Constance*
assembled by
the emperor
Sigismund.

[k] He had offended the Venetians by deposing their patriarch ANTONY PANCIARINI, and putting ANTONY DU PONT, the bishop of *Concordia*, in his place.

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The design
and issue of
this grand
council.

and of a great number of German princes, and with that of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision of this important controversy [1].

IV. The great purpose that was aimed at in the convocation of this grand assembly, was the healing of the schism that had so long rent the papacy; and this purpose was happily accomplished. It was solemnly declared, in the fourth and fifth sessions of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal church; and the authority of councils was vindicated and maintained, by the same decrees, in the most effectual manner [m]. This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of JOHN XXIII, who, during the twelfth session, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate [n], on account of several flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge, and more especially on account of the scandalous violation of a solemn engagement he had taken about the beginning of the council, to resign the papal chair, if that measure should appear necessary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke some weeks after by a clandestine flight. In this same year (1415), GREGORY XII sent to the council CHARLES DE MALATESTA to make, in his name, and as his proxy, a so-

[1] The *Acts* of this famous council were published in six volumes in folio, at *Frankfort*, in the year 1700, by HERMAN van der HARDT. This collection, however, is imperfect, notwithstanding the pains that it cost the laborious editor. Many of the *Acts* are omitted, and a great number of pieces stuffed in among the *Acts*, which by no means deserve a place there. The history of this council by LENFANT is composed with great accuracy and elegance. It appeared in a second edition at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1728, in two volumes, quarto; the first was published in 1714. The Supplement, that was given to this history by BOURGEOIS DE CHASTENET, a French lawyer, is but an indifferent performance. It is intitled, *Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'extinction du Schisme*.

[m] For an account of these two famous decrees, which set such wise limits to the supremacy of the pontiffs, see NATALIS ALEXAND. *Hist. Eccl. Sæc. xv. Diff. iv.*—BOSSUET, *Defens. Sententiæ Cleri Gallican. de Potest. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 2. 23.—LENFANT, *Dissert. Historique et Apologétique pour Jean Gerson, et le Concile de Constance*, which is subjoined to his history of that council.

[n] On the 29th of May, 1415.

lenan

lemn and voluntary resignation of the pontificate. About CENT.
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V. If from the measures that were taken in this council to check the lordly arrogance of the Roman pontiffs, we turn our eyes to the proceedings that were carried on against those that were called *heretics*, we shall observe in this new scene nothing worthy of applause, but several things, on the contrary, that are proper to excite our indignation, and which no pretext, no consideration, can render excusable. Before the meeting of this council, there were great commotions raised in several parts of *Europe*, and more especially in *Bohemia*, concerning religious matters. One of the persons that gave occasion to these disputes was JOHN HUSS, who lived at *Prague* in the highest reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners and the purity of his doctrine, who was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and performed, at the same time, the functions of professor of divinity in the university, and of ordinary pastor in the church of that famous city [p]. This eminent

[o] On the 26th of July, 1417.

[p] A Bohemian jesuit, who was far from being favourable to JOHN HUSS, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his real

C E N T. ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices
 XV. that had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of
 PART II. the clergy, nor was he singular in this respect; such re-
 monstrances were become very common, and they were
 generally approved of by the wise and good. HUSS,
 however, went still farther; and, from the year 1408,
 used his most earnest and assiduous endeavours to with-
 draw the university of *Prague* from the jurisdiction of
 GREGORY XII, whom the kingdom of *Bohemia* had
 hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the
 church. The archbishop of *Prague*, and the clergy in
 general, who were warmly attached to the interests of
 GREGORY, were greatly exasperated at these proceedings.
 Hence arose a violent quarrel between the incensed pre-
 late and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed
 and augmented, from day to day, by his pathetic excla-
 mations against the court of *Rome*, and the corruptions
 that prevailed among the Sacerdotal order.

The reasons
 that excited
 the resent-
 ment of the
 clergy a-
 gainst John
 Huss.

VI. Such were the circumstances that first excited the
 resentment of the clergy against JOHN HUSS. This re-
 sentment, however, might have been easily calmed, and
 perhaps totally extinguished, if new incidents of a more
 important kind had not arisen to keep up the flame, and
 increase its fury. In the first place, he adopted the phi-
 losophical opinions of the *Realists*, and shewed his warm
 attachment to their cause, in the manner that was usual
 in this barbarous age, even by persecuting to the utmost
 of his power their adversaries the *Nominalists*, whose
 number was great, and whose influence was considerable
 in the university of *Prague* [q]. He also multiplied the

character, describes him thus: *He was more subtle than eloquent; but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be.* See BOHUS. BALBINUS, *Epitom. Rer. Bohem. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.*

[q] See the *Litteræ Nominalium ad Regem Franciæ Ludovicum VI.* in BA-
 LUZII *Miscellan. tom. iv. p. 534.* where we read the following passage:
*Léginus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bobe-
 micum Regnum suis hæresibus inficere.—Quum dicti heretici non possent disputando
 superare, impetraverunt ab Abbisselao (Wenceslao) Principe Bobemiæ, ut guber-
 narentur studia Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edicto coacti sunt supradicti*

number

number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, ^{C E N T. XV.} through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the ^{P A R T II.} Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages, that their respective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in the university of *Prague*. That the nature of this contest may be better understood, it will be proper to observe, that this famous university was divided, by its founder CHARLES IV, into four nations, to wit, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, of which, according to the original laws of the university, the first had *three suffrages*; and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the *German nation*, only *one*. This arrangement, however, had not only been altered by custom, but was entirely inverted in favour of the Germans, who were vastly superior to the Bohemians in number, and assumed to themselves the three suffrages, which, according to the original institution of the university, belonged, undoubtedly, to the latter. HUSS therefore, whether animated by a principle of patriotism, or by an aversion to the *Nominalists*, who were peculiarly favoured by the Germans, raised his voice against this abuse, and employed, with success, the extraordinary credit, he had obtained at court, by his flowing and masculine eloquence, in depriving the Germans of the privilege they had usurped, and in reducing their three suffrages to one. The issue of this long and tedious contest [r] was so offensive to the Germans, that a prodigious number of them, with JOHN HOFFMAN the rector of the university at their head [s], retired from *Prague*, and repaired to *Leipsic*, where FREDERICK, surnamed the *Wise*, elector

Nominales Pragæ civitatem relinquere, et se transfulerunt ad Lipsicam civitatem et ibidem crexerunt universitatem solemnissimam.

✎ [r] WENCESLAUS, king of *Bohemia*, who was bribed by both of the contending parties, protracted instead of abridging this dispute, and used to say with a smile, that he had found a good goose, which laid every day a considerable number of gold and silver eggs. This was playing upon the word *Huss*, which, in the German language, signifies a goose.

✎ [s] Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of *Prague* upon this occasion. *Æneas Sylvius* reckons 5000, *Tritemius* and others 2000, *Dubravius* 24,000, *Lupatius* 44,000, *Lauda*, a contemporary writer, 36,000.

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P A R T II.

of Saxony, erected for them, in the year 1409, the famous academy which still subsists in a flourishing state. This event contributed greatly to render HUSS odious to many, and, by the consequences that followed it, was certainly instrumental in bringing on his ruin. For no sooner had the Germans retired from *Prague*, than he began, not only to inveigh with greater freedom than he had formerly done against the vices and corruptions of the clergy, but even went so far as to recommend, in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of the famous WICKLIFF, whose new doctrines had already made such a noise in *England*. Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of JOHN XXIII, by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. He treated, indeed, this excommunication with the utmost contempt, and, both in his conversation and in his writings, laid open the disorders that preyed upon the vitals of the church, and the vices that dishonoured the conduct of its ministers [t]; and the fortitude and zeal he discovered in this matter were almost universally applauded.

John Huss
is burned
alive.

VII. This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal perhaps was rather too violent, and his prudence not always equally circumspect, was summoned to appear before the council of *Constance*. Obedient to this order, and thinking himself secured from the rage of his enemies by the safe-conduct, which had been granted him by the emperor SIGISMUND, both for his journey to *Constance*, his residence in that place, and his return to his own country, JOHN HUSS appeared before the council, to demonstrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deserted the church of *Rome* was entirely groundless. And it may be affirmed with truth, that his religious opinions, at least in matters of moment and importance, were conformable to the established doctrine of the church in this age [u]. He

[t] See LAUR. BYZINII *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in LUDWIG's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 127.

[u] It was observed in the preceding section, that JOHN HUSS adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of WICKLIFF; but this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism declaimed,

declaimed, indeed, with extraordinary vehemence against the Roman pontiffs, the bishops and monks; but this freedom was looked upon as lawful in these times, and it was used every day in the council of *Constance*, where the tyranny of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were censured with the utmost severity. The enemies, however, of this good man, who were very numerous both in the kingdom of *Bohemia* and also in the council of *Constance*, coloured the accusation that was brought against him, with such artifice and success, that, by the most scandalous breach of public faith, he was cast into prison, declared a heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council which commanded him to plead guilty against the dictates of his conscience, and was burnt alive the 6th of July, 1415, which dreadful punishment he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation, expressing in his last moments the noblest feelings of love to God, and the most triumphant hope of the accomplishment of those transporting promises with which the Gospel arms the true Christian at the approach of eternity. The same unhappy fate was borne with the same pious fortitude and constancy of mind by JEROME of *Prague*, the intimate companion of JOHN HUSS, who came to this council with the generous design of supporting and seconding his persecuted friend. Terrified by the prospect of a cruel death, JEROME at first appeared willing to submit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which it had condemned in his writings. This submission, however, was not attended with the advantages he expected from it, nor did it deliver him from the close and severe confinement in which he was kept. He therefore resumed his fortitude, professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions, which he had deserted for a while from a principle of fear, and maintained them in the flames in which he expired on the 30th of May, 1416 [w].

of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the clergy; for, in other respects, it is certain that he adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two Sermons he had prepared for the council of *Constance*.

[w] The translator has here inserted into the text the large note [a]

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The true
causes of
these vio-
lent pro-
ceedings a-
gainst John
Huss and
Jerome of
Prague.

Many learned men have endeavoured to investigate the reasons that occasioned the pronouncing such a cruel sentence against HUSS and his associate; and as no adequate reasons for such a severe proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude, that he fell a victim to the rage and injustice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this conclusion is both natural and well-grounded; nor will it be difficult to shew how it came to pass, that the reverend fathers of the council of *Constance* were so eagerly bent upon burning as a heretic a man who neither deserved such an injurious title, nor such a dreadful fate. In the *first place*, JOHN HUSS had excited, both by his discourse and by his writings, great commotions in *Bohemia*, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The bishops, therefore, together with the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were very sensible, that their honours and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greatest danger of being reduced to nothing, if this reformer should return again to his country, and continue to write and declaim against the clergy with the same freedom that he had formerly done. Hence they left no means unemployed to accomplish his ruin; they laboured night and day, they formed plots, they bribed men in power, they used, in short, every method that could have any tendency to rid them of such a formidable adversary [x]. It may be observed *secondly*, that, in the council of *Constance*, there

of the original, which relates to the circumstances that precipitated the ruin of these two eminent reformers; and he has thrown the citations therein contained into several notes.

[x] The bribery and corruption that was employed in bringing about the ruin of JOHN HUSS, are manifest from the following remarkable passages of the *Diarium Hussiticum* of LAUR. BYZINIUS, p. 135. (see LUDEWIGI *Reliquiæ*, tom. vi.) *Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Bobemiæ et Marchionatu Moraviæ condemnationem ipsius (Hussi) CONTRIBUTIONE PECUNIARUM, et modis aliis diversis procuravit et ad ipsius consensit interitum.* And again, p. 150. *Clerus perversus regni Bobemiæ et Marchionatus Moraviæ, et præcipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani, et religiosi ipsius fideles ac salutiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, PECUNIARUM CONTRIBUTIONE ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt,*

were

were many men of great influence and weight, who looked upon themselves as personally offended by JOHN HUSS, and who demanded his life as the only sacrifice that could satisfy their vengeance. HUSS, as has been already mentioned, was not only attached to the party of the *Realists*, but was peculiarly severe in his opposition to their adversaries. And now he was so unhappy, as to be brought before a tribunal which was principally composed of the *Nominalists*, with the famous JOHN GERSON at their head, who was the zealous patron of that faction, and the mortal enemy of HUSS. Nothing could equal the vindictive pleasure the *Nominalists* felt from an event that put this unfortunate prisoner in their power, and gave them an opportunity of satisfying their vengeance to the full; and accordingly, in their *Letter* to LEWIS, king of *France* [y], they do not pretend to deny that HUSS fell a victim to the resentment of their sect, which is also confirmed by the history of the council of *Constance*. The animosities that always reigned among the *Realists* and *Nominalists* were at this time carried to the greatest excess imaginable. Upon every occasion that offered, they accused each other of heresy and impiety, and had constantly recourse to corporal punishments to decide the matter. The *Nominalists* procured the death of HUSS, who was a *Realist*: and the *Realists*, on the other hand, obtained, in the year 1479, the condemnation of JOHN DE WESALIA, who was attached to the party of the *Nominalists* [z]. These contending sects carried their blind fury so far as to charge each other with the sin against the Holy Ghost [a], and exhibited the most miserable spectacle of inhuman bigotry to the Christian world. The aversion which JOHN HUSS and JEROME, his companion, had against the Germans was a *third*

[y] See BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 534. in which we find the following passage: *Suscitavit Deus Doctores catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gersono, et alios quorum plures doctissimos homines Nominales, qui convocati ad Concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerunt hæretici et nominatim Hieronymus et Johannes—dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverant.*

[z] See the *Examen Magistrale et Theologicale* Mag. Joh. de Wesalii, in ORTUINI GRATII *Fasciculo rerum expetend. et fugiendar.* Colen. 1535, Fol. 163.

[a] In the *Examen* mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following striking passage, which may shew us the extravagant length to which the circumstance

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circumstance that contributed to determine their unhappy fate. This aversion they declared publicly at *Prague*, upon all occasions, both by their words and actions; nor were they at any pains to conceal it even in the council of *Constance*, where they accused them of presumption and despotism in the strongest terms [b]. The Germans, on the other hand, remembering the affront they had received in the university of *Prague* by the means of JOHN HUSS, burned with resentment and rage both against him and his unfortunate friend; and as their influence and authority were very great in the council, there is no doubt that they employed them, with the utmost zeal, against these two formidable adversaries. Besides, JOHN HOFFMAN, the famous rector of the university of *Prague*, whom HUSS had been the occasion of expelling from that city together with the Germans, and who was in consequence thereof become his most virulent enemy, was consecrated bishop of *Misnia* in the year 1413, and held in this council the most illustrious rank among the delegates of the German church. This circumstance was also most unfavourable to HUSS, and was, no doubt, in the event detrimental to his cause.

The circumstances now mentioned, as contributing to the unhappy fate of this good man, are, as we see, all drawn from the resentment and prejudices of his enemies, and have not the least colour of equity. It must, how-

disputes between the *Nominalists* and *Realists* were now carried: *Quis nisi ipse Diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter Philosophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalia quicquam Realia negaverit, existimetur IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM PECCAVISSE, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra Christianam religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc sæcitas mentis nisi a Diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?* We see by this passage that the *Realists* charged their adversaries (whose only crime was the absurdity of calling universal ideas mere denominations) with sin against the Holy Ghost, with transgression against God, and against the Christian religion, and with a violation of all the laws of justice and civil polity.

[b] See THEOD. DE NIEM, *Invectiva in Job. XXIII*, in HARDTII *Actis Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450. *Improperabat etiam in publico Alamanis, dicendo, quod essent præsumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari . . . Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Bobemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alamanii VIOLENTER exinde REPULSI et MALE TRACTATI fuissent.*

ever,

ever, be confessed, that there appeared one *mark of heresy* C E N T. in the conduct of this reformer, which, according to the XV. notions that prevailed in this century, might expose him P A R T II. to condemnation with some shadow of reason and justice; I mean, his inflexible obstinacy, which the church of *Rome* always considered as a grievous *heresy* even in those whose errors were of little moment. We must consider this man, as called before a council, which was supposed to represent the universal church, to confess his faults and to abjure his errors. This he obstinately refused to do, unless he was previously convicted of error; here, therefore, he resisted the authority of the *catholic church*, demanded a rational proof of the justice of the sentence it had pronounced against him, and intimated, with sufficient plainness, that he looked upon the church as *fallible*. All this certainly was most enormously criminal and intolerably heretical, according to the general opinion of the times. For it became a *dutiful* son of the church to renounce his eye-sight, and to submit both his judgment and his will, without any exception or reservation, to the judgment and will of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire persuasion of the infallibility of all her decisions. This ghostly mother had, for many ages past, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in question, the rule which *PLINY* observed in his conduct towards the Christians. “When they persevered, *says he in his letter to TRAJAN* [c], I put my threats into execution, from a persuasion that whatever their confession might be, their audacious and invincible obstinacy deserved an exemplary punishment.”

VIII. Before sentence had been pronounced against *JOHN HUSS* and *JEROME of Prague*, the famous *WICKLIFF*, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this ghostly tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, invidiously culled out of his writings, was

The council
issue out a
decree a-
gainst the
writings and
ashes of
Wickliff.

[c] *PLIN. Epist. lib. x. ep. 97. Perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset, quod faterentur, perveraciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.*

examined

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examined and condemned, and an order was issued out to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the famous decree, which took the *cup* from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist, ordered that the *Lord's supper* should be received by them only in one kind, i. e. the bread, and rigorously prohibited the communion in both kinds. This decree was occasioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of JACOBELLUS DE MISA, curate of the parish of *St. Michael* at *Prague*, who, about a year before this, had been persuaded by PETER of *Dresden*, to administer the Lord's supper in both kinds, and was followed in this by several churches [d]. The council, being informed of this matter by a certain Bohemian bishop, thought proper to oppose with vigour the progress of this *heresy*; and therefore they enacted the statute, which ordered the communion to be administered to the laity but in one kind, and which obtained the force and authority of a law in the church of *Rome*.

The sentence of the council against John Petit.

IX. In the same year, the opinion of JOHN PETIT, a doctor of divinity at *Paris* [e], who maintained, that every individual had an undoubted right to take away the life of a tyrant, was brought before the council, and was condemned as an odious and detestable heresy; but both the name and person of the author were spared, on account of the powerful patrons, under whose protection he had defended that pernicious doctrine. JOHN, duke of *Burgundy*, had, in the year 1407, employed a band of ruffians to assassinate LEWIS, duke of *Orleans*, only brother of CHARLES VI, king of *France*. While the whole city of *Paris* was in an uproar in consequence of this horrible deed, PETIT justified it in a public oration, in presence of the Dauphin and the princes of the blood, affirming, that the duke had done a laudable action, and that it was lawful to put a tyrant to death, in any way, either by violence or fraud, and without any form of law or justice; nay, even in opposition to the most solemn contracts

[d] BYZINI *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124.

[e] Some historians have erroneously represented PETIT as a lawyer. See Dr. SMOLLET's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 462. in 4to.

and

and oaths of fidelity and allegiance. It is however to be observed, that by *tyrants* this doctor did not mean the supreme rulers of nations, but those more powerful and insolent subjects, who abused their wealth and credit to bring about measures that tended to the dishonour of their sovereign and the ruin of their country [*f*]. The university of *Paris* pronounced a severe and rigorous sentence against the author of this pernicious opinion; and the council of *Constance*, after much deliberation and debate, condemned the opinion without mentioning the author. This determination of the council, though modified with the utmost clemency and mildness, was not ratified by the new pontiff MARTIN V, who dreaded too much the formidable power of the duke of *Burgundy* to confirm a sentence which he knew would be displeasing to that ambitious prince [*g*].

X. After these and other transactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into consideration a point of more importance than had yet been proposed, even the reformation of the church in its *head* and in its *members*, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of a licentious clergy. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon the council of *Constance*, from a universal persuasion of the necessity of this reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the assembled fathers deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to be effected, that little could be expected, and still less was

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P A R T II.

The hopes
of a reform-
ation in
the church
frustrated.

[*f*] This appears manifestly from the very discourse of PETIT, which the reader may see in LENFANT'S *History of the Council of Pisa*, tom. ii. p. 303 *. See also AUGUST. LEYSER's *Diss. quâ memoriam Job. Burgundi et doctrinam Job. Parvi de cæde perduellium vindicat*. Witteberg. 1735, in 4to.

[*g*] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. v. p. 113. et passim.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. part II. p. 184.—GERSONIS *Opera a Du Pinio edita*, tom. v.—BAYLE, *Diction.* tom. iii. p. 2268.

☞ * See also the same author's *History of the Council of Constance*, book iii. § XIX.

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done. The cardinals and dignified clergy, whose interest it was that the church should remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation; and observed, among other artful pretexts, that a work of such high moment and importance could not be undertaken with any prospect of success, until a new pontiff was elected. And, what was still more shocking, the new pontiff MARTIN V was no sooner raised to that high dignity, than he employed his authority to elude and frustrate every effort that was made to set this salutary work on foot; and made it appear most evidently, by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive purity. Thus this famous council, after sitting three years and six months, was dissolved on the 22d day of April, 1418, without having effected what was the chief design of their assembling, and put off to a future assembly of the same kind, which was to be summoned five years after this period, that pious design of purifying a corrupt church, which had been so long the object of the expectations and desires of all good Christians.

A council
assembled at
Basil, where
the reformation of
the church
is again attempted in
vain.

XI. Five years and more elapsed without a council's being called. The remonstrances, however, of those whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed, at length, over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time, and MARTIN V summoned a council to meet at *Pavia*, from whence it was removed to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Basil*. The pontiff did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death on the 21st day of February, in the year 1431, just about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by GABRIEL CONDOLMERUS, a native of *Venice*, and bishop of *Sienna*, who is known in the papal list by the title of EUGENIUS IV. This pontiff approved of all the measures that had been entered into by his predecessor in relation to the assembling of the council of *Basil*, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of cardinal JULIAN CESARINI, who performed

performed the functions of president, in the place of C E N T. XV.
EUGENIUS.

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The two grand points that were proposed to the deliberation of this famous council, were, the *union of the Greek and Latin churches*, and the *reformation of the church universal both in its head and in its members*, according to the resolution that had been taken in the council of *Constance*. For that the Roman pontiffs, who were considered as the head of the church, and the bishops, priests, and monks, who were looked upon as its members, were become excessively corrupt; and that, to use the expression of the prophet in a similar case, the *whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint*, was a matter of fact too striking to escape the knowledge of the obscurest individual. On the other hand, as it appeared by the very form of the council [b], by its method of proceeding, and by the first decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the assembled fathers were in earnest, and firmly resolved to answer the end and purpose of their meeting, EUGENIUS IV was much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, which he feared above all things, and beholding with terror the zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, he attempted twice the dissolving of the council. These repeated attempts were vigorously and successfully opposed by the assembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of *Constance*, and by other arguments equally conclusive, that the council was superior, in point of authority, to the Roman pontiff. This controversy, which was the first that had arisen between the council and the pope, was terminated, in the month of November 1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter, who, the month following, wrote a letter from *Rome*, containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgment of its authority [i].

 [b] By the form of the council, Dr. MOSHEIM undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.

[i] The history of this grand and memorable council is yet wanting.

XII. These

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 P A R T II.

The decrees
 and acts of
 the council
 of *Basil*.

These preliminary measures being finished, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The pope's legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared upon oath that they would submit to the decrees that should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of *Constance*, in relation to the supremacy of general councils and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws, which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council the 26th of *June*, in the year 1434, and, on the 9th of the same month in the following year, the *Annats*, as they were called, were publicly abolished; notwithstanding the opposition that was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March, 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions, called *Expectatives*, *Reservations*, and *Provisions*, were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked EUGENIUS to the

The learned STEPHEN BALUZIUS (as we find in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 544) and after him Mr. LENFANT, promised the world a history of this council, but neither of these valuable writers performed their promise *. The acts of this famous assembly have been collected, with incredible industry, in a great number of volumes, from various archives and libraries, at the expence of RUDOLPHUS AUGUSTUS, duke of *Brunswick*, by the very learned and laborious HERMAN van der HARDT. They are preserved, as we are informed, in the library at *Hanover*, and they certainly deserve to be drawn from their retreat, and published to the world. In the mean time, the curious may consult the Abridgment of the Acts of this council, which were published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1512, and which I have made use of in this History, as also the following authors: ÆNÆ SYLVII *Lib. duo de Concilio Basiliensi*. — EDMUN. RICHERIUS, *Histor. Concilior. General.* lib. iii. cap. i. — HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447.

* Dr. MOSHEIM has here been guilty of an oversight; for LENFANT did in reality perform his promise, and composed the *History of the Council of Basil*, which he blended with his *History of the War of the Hussites*, on account of the connexion that there was between these two subjects, and also because his advanced age prevented his indulging himself in the hope of being able to give a full and complete History of the council of *Basil* apart.

highest

highest degree, and made him form a design either for removing this troublesome and enterprizing council into *Italy*, or of setting up a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding the council at *Basil*, *Avignon*, or some city in the dutchy of *Savoy*, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into *Italy*. Each of the contending parties persevered, with the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken, and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the pope and the council. The latter summoned EUGENIUS to appear before them at *Basil* the 26th day of July, 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying with this summons, issued out a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the council and to assemble another at *Ferrara*. This decree, indeed, was treated with the utmost contempt by the council, which, with the consent of the emperor, the king of *France*, and several other princes, continued its deliberations at *Basil*, and, on the 28th of September, in this same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff, for having refused to obey their order.

XIII. In the year 1438, EUGENIUS in person opened the council, which he had summoned to meet at *Ferrara*, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at *Basil*. The principal business that was to be transacted in the pontiff's council was the proposed reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches, and, in order to bring this salutary and important design to a happy issue, the emperor JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian patriarch JOSEPHUS, with the most eminent bishops and doctors among the Greeks, arrived in *Italy*, and appeared in person at *Ferrara*. What animated, in a particular manner, the zeal of the Greeks in this negotiation, was the extremity to which they were reduced by the Turks, and the pleasing hope, that their reconciliation with the Roman pontiff would contribute to engage the Latins in their cause. Be that as it may, there was little done at

The council
of *Ferrara*
held by Eu-
genius.

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Ferrara, where matters were carried on too slowly to afford any prospect of an end of their dissensions; but the negotiations were more successful at *Florence*, whither EUGENIUS removed the council about the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at *Ferrara*. On the other hand, the council of *Basil*, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of EUGENIUS, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439, which vigorous measure was not approved of by the European kings and princes. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; he lost all patience; and devoted, for the second time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of *Basil*, by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of *Basil*, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that high dignity AMADEUS, duke of *Savoy*, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat, called *Ripaille*, upon the borders of the *Leman Lake*, and who is known in the papal list by the name of FELIX V.

The church
afflicted
with a
schism.

XIV. This election was the occasion of the revival of that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of *Constance*. Nay, the new breach was still more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontiffs, but also between the two contending councils of *Basil* and *Florence*. The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of EUGENIUS; while FELIX was acknowledged, as lawful pontiff, by a great number of academies, and, among others, by the famous university of *Paris*, as also in several kingdoms and provinces. The council of *Basil* continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws and publishing edicts until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of EUGENIUS and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its

its deliberations at *Basil*, *Lyons*, or *Lausanne*, as soon as a C E N T. proper opportunity was offered. XV.

In the mean time, the council of *Florence*, with EU-^{PART II.} GENIUS at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty business was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety, of a select number of eminent men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose was the learned BESSARION, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, nay, he had recourse even to promises and threatenings, to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proposed by EUGENIUS. These conditions required their consent to the following points:—*That the holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father;—that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence and vision of the Deity;—that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord's supper;—and lastly, which was the main and principal thing insisted upon by the Latins, that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church.* Such were the terms of peace to which the Greeks were obliged to submit, all except MARK of *Ephesus*, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpose, or engage to submit to a reconciliation founded upon such conditions. And indeed this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had by no means stability sufficient to assure its duration. We find accordingly, that the Grecian deputies were no sooner returned to *Constantinople*, than they declared publicly that all things had been carried on, at *Florence*, by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism, which had been so imperfectly healed a little time before. The council of *Florence* put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, in the year 1442 [k], without having

[k] The *History* of this council, and of the frauds and stratagems that were practised in it, was composed by that learned Grecian SYLVESTER

CENT executed any of the designs that were proposed by it, in a satisfactory manner: For, besides the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Armenians, Jacobites, and more particularly the Abyssinians, into the bosom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with as little success as the other.

Which is
healed under
the pontifi-
cate of Ni-
cholas V.

XV. EUGENIUS IV, who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of *Rome*, died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by THOMAS DE SARZANO, bishop of *Bologna*, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of NICHOLAS V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and, what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. Under his pontificate the European princes, and more especially the king of *France*, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin church, and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. For, in the year 1449, FELIX V resigned the papal chair, and returned to his delicious hermitage at *Ripaille*, while the fathers of the council of *Basil* assembled at *Lausanne* [1], ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal church to submit to the jurisdiction of NICHOLAS as their lawful pontiff. On the other hand, NICHOLAS proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year,

SGYROPULUS, whose work was published at the *Hague* in the year 1660, with a Latin translation, a preliminary discourse, and ample notes, by the learned ROBERT CREIGHTON, a native of *Great Britain*. This History was refuted by LEO ALLATIUS, in a work entitled, *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sguropolo*, Romæ, 1674, 4to. See the same author's *Perpetua Consensio Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occident.* p. 875. as also MABILLON, *Museum Italicum*, t. m. i. p. 243. — SPANHEMIUS, *De perpetua dissensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. opp. p. 491. — HERMANN, *Historia concertat. de pane azymo*, part II. cap. v. p. 124.

[1] The abdication of FELIX V was made on the 9th of April, 1449, and it was ratified the 16th day of the month, by the assembled fathers at *Lausanne*.

and

and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of *Basil*. This pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and sciences, which he promoted in *Italy*, with great success, by the encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks, who came from *Constantinople* into that country [m]. The principal occasion of his death was the fatal revolution that threw this capital of the Grecian empire into the hands of the Turks; this melancholy event preyed upon his spirits, and at length ended his days on the 24th of March, in the year 1455.

XVI. His successor ALPHONSUS BORGIA, who was a native of *Spain*, and is known in the papal list by the denomination of CALIXTUS III, was remarkable for nothing but his zeal in animating the Christian princes to make war upon the Turks; his reign also was short, for he died in the year 1458. ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, who succeeded him in the pontificate that same year, under the title of PIUS II, rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather perhaps of his bad faith; for after having vigorously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the council of *Basil* against EUGENIUS IV, he ignominiously renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties.

[m] See DOM. GEORGII *Vita Nicolai V, ad fidem veterum Monumentorum*: to which is added a treatise, entitled, *Disquisitio de Nicolai V erga litteras et literatos viros patrocinio*, published in 4^{to} at Rome, in the year 1742.

CENT. The year following, he obtained from LEWIS XI, king
 XV. of France, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*,
 PART II. which favoured, in a particular manner, the pretensions
 of the general councils to supremacy in the church [n].

✎ [n] There was a famous edict, entitled, *The Pragmatic Sanction*, issued out by LEWIS IX, who, though he is honoured with a place in the *Kalendar*, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and privileges of the Gallican church against the despotic encroachments and pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly levelled; and though some creatures of the court of Rome have thrown out insinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registered, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch, by the parliament of Paris, in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at Tours in the year 1483, and by the university of Paris in 1491.—See, for a farther account of this edict, the excellent *History of France* (begun by the Abbé Velly, and continued by M. VILLARET,) vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. MOSHEIM has in view here, is the *Pragmatic Sanction* that was drawn up at Bourges, in the year 1438, by CHARLES VII king of France, with the consent of the most eminent prelates and grandees of the nation, who were assembled at that place. This edict (which was absolutely necessary in order to deliver the French clergy from the vexations they suffered from the encroachments of the popes, ever since the latter had fixed their residence at Avignon) consisted of twenty-three articles, in which, among other salutary regulations, the elections to vacant benefices were restored to their ancient purity and freedom*; the *Annates* and other pecuniary pretensions and encroachments of the pontiffs abolished, and the authority of a general council declared superior to that of the pope. This edict was drawn up in concert with the fathers of the council of Basil, and the twenty-three articles it contains, were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times, and the manners of the nation, rendered expedient. Such then was the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which pope PIUS II engaged LEWIS XI (who received upon that occasion, for him and his successors, the title of *Most Christian*) to abolish by a solemn declaration, the full execution of which was, however, prevented by the noble stand made by the university of Paris in favour of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. LEWIS also

✎ * That is to say, that these elections were wrested out of the hands of the popes, who had usurped them, and that, by the *Pragmatic Sanction*, every church had the privilege of chusing its bishop, and every monastery its abbot or prior. By the *Concordate*, or agreement, between FRANCIS I and LEO X (which was substituted in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*), the nomination to the bishoprics in France, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, were vested in the kings of France. An ample and satisfactory account of this convention may be seen in bishop BURNET's excellent *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3. and in a book, entitled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique François*, published in octavo in 1737, and in quarto in 1752.

But

But the most egregious instance of impudence and perfidy that he exhibited to the world was in the year 1463, when he published a solemn retractation of all that he had written in favour of the council of *Basil*, and declared, without either shame or hesitation, that, as *ÆNEAS SYLVIUS*, he was a damnable heretic; but, as *PIUS II*, he was an orthodox pontiff. This indecent declaration was the last circumstance, worthy of notice, that happened during his pontificate; for he departed this life in the month of July, in the year 1464 [o].

XVII. *PAUL II*, a Venetian by birth, whose name was *PETER BARD*, was raised to the head of the church in the year 1464, and died in the year 1471. His administration was distinguished by some measures, which, if we consider the genius of the times, were worthy of praise; though it must, at the same time, be confessed that he did many things, which were evidently inexcusable, not to mention his reducing the jubilee circle to twenty-five years; and thus accelerating the return of that most absurd and superstitious ceremony. So that his reputation became at least dubious in after-times, and was viewed in different lights by different persons [p]. The following pontiffs, *SIXTUS IV* and *INNOCENT VIII*, whose names were *FRANCIS ALBESCOLA*

perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous insinuations of *GEOFFREY*, bishop of *Arras* (whom the pope had bribed with a cardinal's cap, and large promises of a more lucrative kind) took no sort of pains to have it executed, but published, on the contrary, new edicts against the pecuniary pretensions and extortions of the court of *Rome*. So that in reality the *Pragmatic Sanction* was not abolished before the *Concordate*, or agreement, which was transacted between *FRANCIS I* and *LEO X*, in the year 1517, and was forced upon the French nation in opposition to the united efforts of the clergy, the university, the parliament, and the people. See, for a farther account of this matter, *Du Clos*, *Histoire de Louis XI*, vol. i. p. 115—132.

[o] Besides the writers of Ecclesiastical History, see *Nouveaux Diction. Histor. et Critique*, tom. ii. at the article *ENEE SYLVIUS*, p. 26.

[p] *PAUL II* has had the good fortune to find, in one of the most eminent and learned men of this age (the famous cardinal *LUIRINI*), a zealous apologist. See among the productions of that illustrious prelate, the piece entitled, *Pauli II Vita ex Codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindictis adversus Platinam, aliosque obtruncatores, Romæ, 1740, in 4to.*

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and JOHN BAPTIST CIBO, were neither remarkable for their virtues nor their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with the most terrible apprehensions of the danger that threatened *Europe* in general, and *Italy* in particular, from the growing power of the Turks, they both attempted putting themselves in a posture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European princes to put a stop to the progress of that warlike people. But many obstacles arose, which prevented the execution of this important design, and rendered the exhortations of these zealous pontiffs without effect. The other undertakings that were projected or carried on, during their continuance at the head of the church, are not of importance sufficient to require particular notice.

Alexander
VI.

XVIII. In the series of pontiffs that ruled the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was ALEXANDER VI, a Spaniard by birth, whose name was RODERIC BORGIA. The life and actions of this man shew, that there was a *Nero* among the popes as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities that history has imputed to this papal *Nero*, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. And, though it may be possible, that the malignity of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and, in some instances, exaggerated the horror of his real crimes; yet there is upon record an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are sufficient to render the name and memory of ALEXANDER VI odious and detestable in the esteem even of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons of a concubine with whom he had lived many years, among whom was the infamous CÆSAR BORGIA. A daughter, named LUCRETIA, was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for this spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them

them with riches and honours ; and, in the execution of C E N T. XV. PART II. this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion, laid in his way [q]. Thus he went on in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poison, which he and his son CÆSAR had mingled for others who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days [r].

XIX. The monastic societies, as we learn from a The monks. multitude of authentic records, and from the testimonies of the best writers, were, at this time, so many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate, and licentious Epicureans, whose views in life were confined to opulence, idleness, and pleasure. The rich monks, particularly those of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts ; and renouncing, in their conduct, all regard to their respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves a popular odium by their sensuality and licentiousness [s]. This was matter of affliction to many wise and good men, especially in France and Germany, who formed the pious design of stemming the torrent of monkish luxury, and excited a spirit of reformation among that degenerate order [t]. Among the German reformers, who undertook the restoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, NICHOLAS DE MAZEN, an Austrian abbot, and NICHOLAS DUNKELSPUHL, professor at Vienna, held the first rank. They attempted, with unparalleled zeal and assiduity, the reformation of the Benedictines throughout

[q] The life of this execrable tyrant has been written in English by Mr. ALEXANDER GORDON, whose work was translated into French, and published at Amsterdam in 1732. The same subject has, however, been handled with more moderation by the ingenious and learned author of the *Histoire du Droit Publ. Eccles. François*, to which History are subjoined the lives of ALEXANDER VI and LEO X.

[r] Such is the account which the best historians have given of the death of ALEXANDER VI ; VOLTAIRE, notwithstanding, has pretended to prove that this pontiff died a natural death.

[s] See MARTINI SENCING, *Tuitiones Ordinis S. Benedicti, seu Oratio in Concilio Basiliensi*, A. 1433, contra vitia Benedict. recitata, in BERNH. PEZII *Biblioth. Ascetica*, tom. viii. p. 517.

[t] See LEIBNITII *Pref. ad tom. ii. Scriptor. Brunsvic.* p. 40.

C E N T. all *Germany*, and succeeded so far, as to restore, at least, a certain air of decency and virtue in the monasteries of *Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria* [u]. The reformation of the same order was attempted in *France* by many, and particularly by GUIDO, or GUY JUVENAL, a learned man, whose writings, upon that and on other subjects, were received with applause [w]. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the monks, both in *France* and elsewhere, resisted, with obstinacy, the salutary attempts of these spiritual physicians, and returned their zeal with the worst treatment that it was possible to shew them.

The Mendicants.

XX. While the opulent monks exhibited to the world scandalous examples of luxury, ignorance, laziness, and licentiousness, accompanied with a barbarous aversion to every thing that carried the remotest aspect of science, the Mendicants, and more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were chargeable with irregularities of another kind. Besides their arrogance, which was excessive, a quarrelsome and litigious spirit, an ambitious desire of encroaching upon the rights and privileges of others, an insatiable zeal for the propagation of superstition, and the itch of disputing and of starting absurd and intricate questions of a religious kind, prevailed among them, and drew upon them justly the displeasure and indignation of many. It was this wrangling spirit that perpetuated the controversies which had subsisted so long between them and the bishops, and indeed the whole sacerdotal order; and it was their vain curiosity and their inordinate passion for novelty, that made the divines, in the greatest part of the European academies, complain of the dangerous and destructive errors they had introduced into religion. These complaints were repeated, without interruption, in all the provinces where the Mendicants had any credit; and the same complaints were often presented to the court of *Rome*, where they exercised sufficiently both the patience and subtilty of the pontiffs and their ministers. The different pontiffs that ruled the church, during this

[u] For an account of these reformers, see MARTIN. KROFF. *Bibliotheca Mellicensis, seu de vitis et Scriptis Benediclinor. Mellicensium*, p. 143. 163. 203. 206.

[w] See LIRON, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iii. p. 49.

century, were differently affected towards the Mendicants; some patronized them; others opposed them; and this circumstance frequently changed the face of things, and, for a long time, rendered the decision of the contest dubious [x]. The persecution that was carried on against the *Beguins* became also an occasion of increasing the odium that had been cast upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their interests. For the *Beguins* and *Lollards*, to escape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the bishops and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping that, in the patronage and protection of these powerful and respected societies, they should find a secure retreat from the calamities that oppressed them. Nor were their hopes entirely disappointed here; but the storm that hitherto pursued them, fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the *Mendicants*, who, by affording a refuge to a sect so odious to the clergy, drew upon themselves the indignation of that sacred order, and were thereby involved in difficulties and perplexities of various kinds [y].

XXI. The more austere and rebellious Franciscans, who, separating themselves from the church, renounced their allegiance to the Roman pontiffs, and were distinguished by the appellation of *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*, continued, together with their *Tertiaries*, the *Beghards*, to carry on an open war against the court of *Rome*. Their head-quarters were in *Italy*, in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and the neighbouring countries; for it was there that their leader and chief ruler resided. They were persecuted about the middle of this century, with the greatest severity, by pope NICHOLAS V, who employed every method he could think of to vanquish their obstinacy, sending for that purpose successively against them the Franciscan monks, armed hosts, and civil magistrates, and committing to the flames many of those who remained unmoved by all these means of conversion [z]. This

[x] See LAUNOII *Lib. de Canone; Omnis Utriusque Sexus*, opp. tom. i. part I. p. 287.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 189. 196. 204. 522. 558. 601. 617. 752.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 210. 212. 224.

[y] See the preceding century.

[z] MAURITIUS SARTIUS, *De Antiqua Picentum civitate Cupromontana*,

heavy

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heavy persecution was carried on by the succeeding pontiffs, and by none with greater bitterness and vehemence than by PAUL II; though it is said, that this pope chose rather to conquer the headstrong and stubborn perseverance of this sect by imprisonment and exile, than by fire and sword [a]. The *Fratricelli*, on the other hand, animated by the protection of several persons of great influence, who became their patrons on account of the striking appearance of sanctity which they exhibited to the world, opposed force to force, and went so far as to put to death some of the inquisitors, among whom ANGELO of *Camaldoli* fell a victim to their vengeance [b]. Nor were the commotions raised by this troublesome sect confined to *Italy*; other countries felt the effects of their petulant zeal; and *Bohemia* and *Silesia* (where they preached with warmth their favourite doctrine, *that the true imitation of Christ consisted in beggary, and extreme poverty*) became the theatre of this spiritual war [c]. The king of *Bohemia* was well affected to these fanatics, granted them his protection, and was, on that account, excommunicated by PAUL II [d]. In *France*, their affairs were far from being prosperous; such of them as fell into the hands of the inquisitors were committed to the flames [e], and they were eagerly searched after in the province of *Tholouse* and the adjacent countries, where great numbers of them lay concealed, and endeavoured to escape the vigilance of their enemies; while several

in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Raccolta di Opusculi Scientifici*, tom xxxix. p. 39. 81. 97. where we have several extracts from the *Manuscript Dialogue* of JACOBUS DE MARCHIA against the *Fratricelli*.

[a] ANG. MAR. QUIRINI *Vita Pauli II*, p. 78 — JO. TARGIONIVS, *Præf. ad Claror. Venetor. Epistolas ad Magliabechium*, tom. i. p. 43. where we have an account of the books that were written against the *Fratricelli* by NICHOLAS PALMERIVS and others under the pontificate of PAUL II, and which are yet in manuscript.

[b] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Maii*, p. 356.

[c] JO. GEORGII SCHELHORNII *Acta Historica Eccles.* part I. p. 66. 283.

[d] QUIRINI *Vita Pauli II*, p. 73.

[e] I have in manuscript in my possession, the acts, or decrees, of the *Inquisition* against JOHN GUDULCHI DE CASTELLIONE and FRANCIS DE ARCHATA, both of them *Fratricelli*, who were burnt in *France* in the year 1454.

of their scattered parties removed to *England* and *Ireland* [f]. The dreadful series of calamities and persecutions, that pursued this miserable sect was not sufficient to extinguish it entirely; for it subsisted until the times of the reformation in *Germany*, when its remaining votaries adopted the cause and embraced the doctrine and discipline of LUTHER.

XXII. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none deserves a more honourable mention, than the *Brethren and clerks of the common life* (as they called themselves) who lived under the rule of ST. AUGUSTIN, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion, learning, and virtue. This society had been formed in the preceding age by GERARD DE GROOTE, a native of *Deventer* [g], and a man remarkable for his fervent piety and extensive erudition; it was not, however, before the present century, that it received a proper degree of consistence, and, having obtained the approbation of the council of *Constance*, flourished in *Holland*, the *Lower Germany*, and the adjacent provinces. It was divided into two classes, the *Lettered Brethren*, or *Clerks*, and the *Illiterate*, who, though they occupied separate habitations, lived in the firmest bonds of fraternal union. The *Clerks* applied themselves, with exemplary zeal and assiduity, to the study of polite literature, and to the education of youth. They composed learned works for the instruction of their contemporaries, and erected schools and seminaries of learning wherever they went. The *Illiterate Brethren*, on the other hand, were employed in manual labour, and exercised with success the mechanic arts. Neither of the two classes were under the restraint of religious *votus*; yet they had all things in common, and this community was the great bond of their union. The *Sisters* of this virtuous society lived much in the same manner, and employed the hours, that were not consecrated to prayer and reading, in the education of young girls, and in branches of industry

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New orders:
the Brethren
and Clerks
of the com-
mon life.

[f] WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 232.

[g] The life of this famous Dutchman GERARD GROOTE was written by THOMAS A KEMPIS, and is to be found in his WORKS. It stands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries, which were composed by this eminent writer.

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suitable to their sex. The schools, that were erected by the *Clerks* of this fraternity, acquired a great and illustrious reputation in this century. From them issued forth those immortal restorers of learning and taste that gave a new face to the republic of letters in *Germany* and *Holland*, such as ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*, ALEXANDER HEGIUS, JOHN MURMELIUS, and several others [b]. The institution of the order of the Jesuits seemed to diminish the credit of these excellent schools, which, from that period, began to decline, and of which there are, at this time, but very few remaining. The *Brethren of the common life* were frequently called *Beghards* and *Lollards*, appellations that had been given to so many different sects, and were obliged to sustain the insults and opposition of the clergy and monks, who had an inexpressible aversion to every thing that bore the remotest aspect of learning or taste [i].

The Greek
writers.

XXIII. Of the Greeks, who acquired a name by their learned productions, the most eminent were,

SIMEON of *Thessalonica*, the author of several treatises, and, among others, of a book against the *Heresies* that had troubled the church, to which we may add his writings against the Latins, which are yet extant [k];

JOSEPHUS BRYENNIUS, who wrote a book *Concerning the Trinity*, and another against the Latins;

MACARIUS MACRES, whose animosity against the Latins was carried to the greatest height;

[b] Accounts of this order have been given by AUB. MIREUS, in his *Chronicon*, ad A. 1384, and by HELYOT, in his *History of the Religious Orders*, tom. iii. But, in that which I have here given, there are some circumstances taken from ancient records not yet published. I have in my possession several manuscripts, which furnish materials for a much clearer and more circumstantial account of the institution and progress of this order, than can be derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that subject.

[i] We read frequently, in the records of this century, of schools erected by the *Lollards*, and sometimes by the *Beghards*, at *Deventer*, *Brunswic*, *Koningsberg*, and *Munster*, and many other places. Now these *Lollards* were the *Clerks of the common life*, who, on account of their virtue, industry, and learning, which rendered them so useful in the education of youth, were invited by the magistrates of several cities to reside among them.

[k] JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 49.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Eccles.* par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 400.

GEORGE PHRANZA, whose historical talent makes a c E N T.
figure in the compilation of the Byzantine historians ;

MARCUS EPHESIUS, who was an obstinate enemy to the ^{XV.} PART II,
council of *Florence* [l] ;

Cardinal BESSARION, the illustrious protector and supporter of the Platonic school, a man of unparalleled genius and erudition ; but much hated by the Greeks, because he seemed to lean to the party of the Latins, and proposed an union of the two nations to the prejudice of the former [m] ;

GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, otherwise called GENNADIUS, who wrote against the Latins, and more especially against the council of *Florence*, with more learning, candour, and perspicuity than the rest of his countrymen [n] ;

GEORGE GEMISTIUS PLETHO, a man of eminent learning, who excited many of the Italians to the study, not only of the Platonic philosophy in particular, but of Grecian literature in general ;

GEORGE of *Trapezond*, who translated several of the most eminent Grecian authors into Latin, and supported the cause of the Latins against the Greeks by his dexterous and eloquent pen ;

GEORGE CODINUS, of whom we have yet remaining several productions relating to the Byzantine history.

XXIV. The tribe of Latin writers, that adorned or ^{Latin writers} dishonoured this century, is not to be numbered. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the enumeration of those who wrote upon theological matters, and even of these we shall only mention the most eminent. At their head we may justly place JOHN GERSON, chancellor of the university of *Paris*, the most illustrious ornament that this age can boast of, a man of the greatest influence and authority, whom the council of *Constance* looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French,

[l] RICH. SIMON, *l. c.* tom. i. p. 431.

[m] For an account of BESSARION and the other learned men here mentioned, see BORNERUS and HODY, in their histories of the Restoration of Letters in *Italy*, by the Greeks that took refuge there after the taking of *Constantinople* ; add to these the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[n] RICH. SIMON, *Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 87. & *Critique de M. Du PIN*, tom. i. p. 438.

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NICHOLAS DE CLEMANGIS, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who lamented, in the most eloquent and affecting strains, the calamities of the times, and the unhappy state of the Christian church [p];

ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, bishop of *Avila*, who loaded the Holy Scriptures with an unwieldy and voluminous Commentary, and composed also other works, in which there is a great mixture of good and bad;

AMEROSE of *Camalduli*, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance with Grecian literature, as also by the zeal and industry he discovered in the attempts he made to effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

NICHOLAS DE CUSA, a man of vast erudition, and no mean genius, though not so famed for the solidity of his judgment, as may appear from a work of his entitled, *Conjectures concerning the last day* [q].

JOHN NIEDER, whose writings are very proper to give us an accurate notion of the manners and spirit of the

[o] See DU PIN, *Gersonianorum Libri* iv. which are prefixed to the edition of the Works of GERSON, which we owe to that laborious author, and which was published at *Antwerp* in five volumes folio, in the year 1706. See also JO. LAUNOII *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarreni*, part III. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514. tom. iv. part I. opp.—HERM. von der HARDT, *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. i. part IV. p. 26.

[p] See LAUNOII *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* part III. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555.—LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 436.—The Works of CLEMANGIS were published, some pieces excepted, at *Leyden*, with a Glossary, in the year 1631, by LYDIUS.

[q] BAYLE, *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517.—The Works of NICOLAS were published, in one volume, at *Basil*, in the year 1565.

age in which he lived, and whose voyages and transactions have rendered him famous;

JOHN CAPISTRAN, who was in high esteem at the court of *Rome*, on account of the ardor and vehemence with which he defended the jurisdiction and majesty of the pontiffs against all their enemies and opposers [r];

JOHN WESSELUS and JEROME SAVANAROLA, who may justly be placed among the wisest and worthiest men of this age. The former, who was a native of *Groningen*, and on account of his extraordinary penetration and sagacity was called the *Light of the World*, propagated several of those doctrines, which LUTHER afterwards inculcated with greater evidence and energy, and animadverted with freedom and candour upon the corruptions of the Roman church [s]. The latter was a Dominican and a native of *Ferrara*, remarkable for piety, eloquence, and learning, who touched the sores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed against the pontiffs with greater severity. This freedom cost him dear; he was committed to the flames at *Florence* in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the most triumphant fortitude and serenity of mind [t];

ALPHONSUS SPINA, who wrote a book against the Jews and Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei*.

To all these we must join the whole tribe of the scholastic writers, whose chief ornaments were, JOHN CAPREOLUS, JOHN DE TURRECREMATA, ANTONINUS of *Florence*, DIONYSIUS a RYCKEL, HENRY GORCOMIUS, GABRIEL BIEL, STEPHEN BRULIFER, and others. The most remarkable among the mystics were, VINCENTIUS FERRERINUS, HENR. HARPHIUS, LAURENTIUS JUSTINIANUS, BERNARDINUS SENENSIS, and THOMAS a KEMPIS, who shone among these with a superior lustre,

[r] LENFANT, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, tom. ii. p. 254 — WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 67.

[s] JO. HENR. MATI *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 156.

[t] B. JO. FRANC. BUDEI *Paverga Historico Theologica*. The life of SAVANAROLA was written by J. FRANCIS PICUS, and published in two volumes, 8vo, at *Paris*, with various Annotations, Letters, and original Pieces by QUETIF, in the year 1674. The same editor published also at *Paris*, that same year, the *Spiritual and Ascetic Epistles of SAVANAROLA*, translated from the Italian into Latin. See ECHARD, *Scriptor. Prædicator*, tom. i. p. 884.

C E N T. and to whom the famous book *Concerning the Imitation of*
 XV. *Christ*, is commonly attributed [u].
 P A R T II.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the state of religion, and the doctrine of the Church, during this century.

The corrupt
state of reli-
gion.

I. **T**HE state of religion was become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact, which even they whose prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will never presume to deny. Among the Greeks and Orientals, religion had scarcely a better aspect than among the Latins; at least, if the difference was in their favour, it was far from being considerable. The worship of the Deity consisted in a round of frivolous and insipid ceremonies. The discourses of those who instructed the people in public, were not only destitute of sense, judgment, and spirit, but even of piety and devotion, and were in reality nothing more than a motley mixture of the grossest fictions, and the most extravagant inventions. The reputation of Christian knowledge and piety was easily acquired; it was lavished upon those, who professed a profound veneration for the sacred order, and their ghostly head the Roman pontiff, who studied to render the saints, (*i. e.* the clergy, their ministers,) propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church, and who had wealth enough to pay the fines which the papal quæstors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression, or, in other words, to purchase indulgences.

[a] The late Abbé LANGLET DE FRESNOY promised the world a demonstration that this famous book, whose true author has been so much disputed among the learned, was originally written in French by a person named GERSEN, or GERSON, and only translated into Latin by THOMAS A KEMPIS. See GRANETUS in *Launoianis*, part II. tom. iv. part II. opp. p. 414, 415. The History of this famous book is given by VINCENTIUS THUILLIERIUS, in the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinartii*, tom. iii. p. 54.

Such

Such were the ingredients of *ordinary* piety; but such as CENT. XV. PART II. added to these a certain degree of austerity and bodily mortification were placed in the highest order of worthies, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. On the other hand, the number of those who were studious to acquire a just notion of religious matters, to investigate the true sense of the sacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the divine Saviour, was extremely small, and such had much difficulty in escaping the gibbet, in an age where virtue and sense were looked upon as heretical.

II. This miserable state of things, this enormous perversion of religion and morality throughout almost all the western provinces, were observed and deplored by many wise and good men, who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to stem the torrent of superstition, and to reform a corrupt church. In *England* and *Scotland*, the disciples of WICKLIFF, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the odious title of *Lollards*, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy [*w*]. The *Waldenses*, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides and from every quarter, raised their voices, even in the remote vallies and lurking-places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in *Italy* many, and among others the famous SAVANAROLA, had the courage to declare, that *Rome* was become the image of *Babylon*, and this notion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and would receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed, with all their might, every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these importunate censors by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

III. The religious dissensions that had been excited in *Bohemia* by the ministry of JOHN HUSS and his dis-

Defenders of
the true re-
ligion raised
by provi-
dence in se-
veral places.

Commo-
tions in
Bohemia.

[*w*] See WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britann. et Hibern.* tom. iv.—WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 201. 204.

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ciple JACOBELLUS DE MISA, were doubly inflamed by the deplorable fate of HUSS and JEROME of *Prague*, and broke out into an open war, which was carried on with the most savage and unparalleled barbarity. The followers of HUSS, who pleaded for the administration of the cup to the laity in the holy sacrament, being persecuted and oppressed in various ways by the emissaries and ministers of the court of *Rome*, retired to a steep and high mountain in the district of *Bechin*, in which they held their religious meetings, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper *under both kinds*. This mountain they called *Tabor*, from the tents which they at first erected there for their habitation; and in process of time they raised a strong fortification for its defence, and adorned it with a well-built and regular city. Nor did they stop here; but, forming more grand and important projects, they chose for their chiefs NICHOLAS of *Hussinet*, and the famous JOHN ZISKA, a Bohemian knight, a man of the most undaunted courage and resolution, and proposed, under the standards of these valiant leaders, to revenge the death of HUSS and JEROME upon the creatures of the Roman pontiff, and obtain a liberty of worshipping God in a more rational manner than that which was prescribed by the church of *Rome*. After the death of NICHOLAS, which happened in the year 1420, ZISKA commanded alone this warlike body, and had the satisfaction to see his army increase from day to day. During the first tumults of this war, which were no more than a prelude to calamities of a much more dreadful kind, WENCESLAUS, king of *Bohemia*, departed this life in the year 1419 [x].

The Hussite
war carried
on by Ziska
and Proco-
pius Raza.

IV. The emperor SIGISMUND, who succeeded him in the throne of *Bohemia*, employed not only edicts and remonstrances, but also the terror of penal laws and the force of arms to put an end to these lamentable divisions;

[x] This prince had no sooner begun to execute the decrees of the council of *Constance* against the Hussites, than the inhabitants of *Prague* took fire at this proceeding, raised a tumult, murdered the magistrates who published the order, and committed other outrages, which filled the court of Wenceslaus with consternation, and so affected that pusillanimous monarch, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.

and great numbers of the Hussites perished, by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. The Bohemians, irritated by these inhuman proceedings, threw off his despotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with Ziska at their head, made war against their sovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his sight, discovered, in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the plurality of the Hussites chose for their general PROCOPIUS RASA, a man also of undaunted courage and resolution, who maintained their cause and carried on the war with spirit and success. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both sides, were shocking and terrible beyond expression; for notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition that there was between the religious sentiments of the contending parties, they both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to persecute and extirpate with fire and sword the enemies of the true religion, and such they reciprocally appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained that Huss had been unjustly put to death at *Constance*, and consequently revenged, with the utmost fury, the injury that had been done him. They acknowledged it, nevertheless, as an incontestible principle, that *heretics* were worthy of capital punishment; but they denied obstinately that Huss was a *heretic*. This pernicious maxim, then, was the source of that cruelty that dishonoured the exploits of both the parties in this dreadful war; and it is, perhaps, difficult to determine, which of the two carried this cruelty to the greatest height.

V. All those who undertook to avenge the death of the Bohemian martyr, set out upon the same principles, and, at the commencement of the war, they seemed to agree both in their religious sentiments and in their demands upon the church and government from which they had withdrawn themselves. But as their numbers increased, their union diminished, and their army being prodigiously augmented by a confluence of strangers from all quarters, a great dissension arose among them, which, in the year 1420, came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were distinguished

The Calix-
tines.

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guished by the titles of *Calixtines* and *Taborites*. The former, who were so called from their insisting upon the use of the *cup* or chalice, in the celebration of the eucharist, were mild in their proceedings and modest in their demands, and shewed no disposition to overturn the ancient system of church-government, or to make any considerable changes in the religion which was publicly received. All that they required, may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded *first*, that the word of God should be explained to the people in a plain and perspicuous manner, without the mixture of superstitious comments or inventions; *secondly*, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered *in both kinds*; *thirdly*, that the clergy, instead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquisition of riches and power, should turn their thoughts to objects more suitable to their profession, and be ambitious of living and acting as became the successors of the holy apostles; and *fourthly*, that transgressions of a more heinous kind, or *mortal sins*, should be punished in a manner suitable to their enormity. In this great faction, however, there were some subordinate sects, who were divided upon several points. The administration of the Lord's supper was one occasion of dispute; JACOBELLUS DE MISA, who had first proposed the celebration of that ordinance *under both kinds*, was of opinion, that infants had a right to partake of it, and this opinion was adopted by many; while others maintained the contrary doctrine, and confined the privilege in question to persons of riper years [y].

Taborites.

VI. The demands of the *Taborites*, who derived their name from a mountain well known in sacred history, were much more ample. They not only insisted upon reducing the religion of Jesus to its primitive simplicity, but required also that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed in the same manner, the authority of the pope destroyed, the form of divine worship changed; they demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which CHRIST alone should reign, and all things should be carried on by a

[y] BYZINII *Diarium Hæreticum*, p. 130.

divine

divine direction and impulse. In maintaining these extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the Taborites, such as MARTIN LOQUIS, a Moravian, and his followers, went so far as to flatter themselves with the chimerical notion that CHRIST would descend in person upon earth, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. These fanatical dreams they propagated every where, and taught them even in a public manner with unparalleled confidence and presumption. It is this enthusiastic class of the Hussites alone, that we are to look upon as accountable for all those abominable acts of violence, rapine, desolation, and murder, which are too indiscriminately laid to the charge of the Hussites in general, and to their two leaders ZISKA and PROCOPIUS in particular [z]. It must indeed be acknowledged, that a great part of the Hussites had imbibed the most barbarous sentiments with respect to the obligation of executing vengeance upon their enemies, against whom they breathed nothing but bloodshed and fury, without any mixture of humanity or compassion.

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[z] From the following opinions and maxims of the Taborites, which may be seen in the *Diarium Hussiticum* of BYZINIUS, we may form a just idea of their detestable barbarity: *Omnes legis Christi adversarii debent puniri septem plagis novissimis, ad quarum executionem fideles sunt provocandi.—In isto tempore ultionis Christus in sua humilitate et miseratione non est imitandus ad ipsos peccatores, sed in zelo et furore et iusta retributione.—In hoc tempore ultionis, quilibet fidelis, etiam presbyter, quantumcunque spiritualis, est maledictus, QUI GLADIUM SUUM CORPORALEM PROHIBET A SANGUINE adversariorum legis Christi, sed DEET MANUS SUAS LAVARE IN EORUM SANGUINE et sanctificare.* From men, who adopted such horrid and detestable maxims, what could be expected, but the most abominable acts of injustice and cruelty? For an account of this dreadful and calamitous war, the reader may consult (besides the ancient writers, such as SYLVIVS, THEOBALDVS, COCHLÆUS, and others) LENFANT, *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, which was published at Amsterdam in two volumes in 4to, in the year 1731. To this history it will, however, be advisable to add the *Diarium Belli Hussitici* of BYZINIUS, a book worthy of the highest esteem, on account of the candour and impartiality with which it is composed, and which Mr. LENFANT does not seem to have consulted. This valuable production has been published, though incomplete, in the sixth volume of the *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum* of the very learned JOHN PETER LUDWIG. See also BEAUSOËRE's Supplement to the *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, Lausanne, 1745, in 4to.

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The com-
motions in
Bohemia ter-
minated.

VII. In the year 1433, the council of *Basil* endeavour-
ed to put an end to this dreadful war, and for that pur-
pose invited the Bohemians to their assembly. The Bo-
hemians, accepting this invitation, sent ambassadors, and
among others PROCOPIUS their leader, to represent them
in that council. But, after many warm debates, these
messengers of peace returned without having effected any
thing that might even prepare the way for a reconcilia-
tion so long and so ardently desired. The *Calixtines*
were not averse to peace; but no methods of persuasion
could engage the *Taborites* to yield. This matter, how-
ever, was transacted with more success by ÆNEAS
SYLVIUS and others, whom the council sent into *Bohemia*
to renew the conferences. For these new legates, by al-
lowing the *Calixtines* the use of the cup in the holy sa-
crament, satisfied them in the point which they had
chiefly at heart, and thereby reconciled them with the
Roman pontiff. But the *Taborites* remained firm, ad-
hered inflexibly to their first principles; and neither the
artifice nor eloquence of SYLVIUS, nor the threats, suf-
ferings, and persecutions to which their cause exposed
them, could vanquish their obstinate perseverance in it.
From this period, indeed, they began to review their
religious tenets, and their ecclesiastical discipline, with a
design to render them more perfect. This review, as it
was executed with great prudence and impartiality, pro-
duced a very good effect, and gave a rational aspect to
the religion of this sect, who withdrew themselves from
the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon serious
examination, they found to be inconsistent with the spirit
and genius of the gospel, and banished from their com-
munion all those whose disordered brains or licentious
manners might expose them to reproach [a]. The
Taborites, thus new-modelled, were the same with those
Bohemian brethren (or *Piccards*, i. e. *Beghards*, as their
adversaries called them) who joined LUTHER and his
successors at the reformation, and of whom there are at

[a] See ADRIANI REGENVOLSCHII *Historia Eccles. provinciar. Slavo-
nicar.* lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 165.—JOACH. CAMERARII *Historica Narratio
de fratribus Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia*, Heidelb. 1605, in 4to.
—JO. LASITII *Historia fratrum Bohemicorum*, which I possess in manuscript,
and of which the eighth Book was published in 8vo at Amsterdam, in the
year 1649.

this day many of the descendants and followers in *Poland* C E N T. XV. and other countries.

VIII. Among the greatest part of the interpreters of PART II. Commentators. scripture that lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applause, if we except their zeal and their good intentions. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own sense of things, did little more than amuse, or rather delude, their readers, with *mystical* and *allegorical* fancies. At the head of this class of writers is ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, bishop of *Avila*, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. LAURENTIUS VALLA is entitled to a more favorable judgment, and his small collection of *Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Testament* is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the divine oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of *Europe*, translated into the language of each respective people, particularly in *Germany, Italy, France, and Britain*. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be soon reformed by the light that could not but arise from consulting the genuine sources of divine truth.

IX. The schools of divinity made a miserable figure in this century. They were filled with teachers, who loaded their memory, and that of their disciples, with unintelligible distinctions and unmeaning sounds, that they might thus dispute and discourse with an appearance of method, upon matters which they did not understand. There were now few remaining, of those who proved and illustrated the doctrines of religion by the positive declarations of the holy scriptures and the sentiments of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much superior to the vain and obscure pedants of whom we now speak. The senseless jargon of the latter did not escape the just and heavy censure of some learned and judicious

The scholastic divines and moralists hated and opposed.

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judicious persons, who looked upon their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and solid piety. Accordingly various plans were formed by different persons, some of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the mean time, the enemies of the *school-men* increased from day to day. The mystics, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon banishing entirely this scholastic theology out of the Christian church. Others, who seemed disposed to treat matters with more moderation, did not insist upon its total suppression, but were of opinion, that it was necessary to reform it, by abolishing all vain and useless subjects of debate, by restraining the rage of disputing that had infected the seminaries of theology, and by seasoning the subtilty of the school-men with a happy temperature of mystic sensibility and simplicity. This opinion was adopted by the famous GERSON, who laboured with the utmost zeal and assiduity in correcting and reforming the disorders and abuses that the scholastic divines had introduced into their seminaries [b], as also by SAVANAROLA, PETRUS DE ALLIACO, and NICHOLAS CUSANUS, whose treatise concerning *Learned Ignorance* is still extant.

Principally
by the restor-
ers of po-
lite litera-
ture and elo-
quence.

X. The litigious herd of school-men found a new class of enemies equally keen, in the restorers of Eloquence and Letters, who were not all, however, of the same opinion with respect to the manner of treating these solemn quibblers. Some of them covered with ridicule and loaded with invectives the scholastic doctrine, and demanded its suppression, as a most trifling and absurd system, that was highly detrimental to the culture and improvement of the mind, and every way proper to prevent the growth of genius and true science. Others looked upon this system as supportable, and only proposed illustrating and polishing it by the powers of elo-

[b] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choïses*, tom. ii. p. 269. & *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique M. Du PIN*, tom. i. p. 491.—THOMASII *Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56. and principally GERSONIS *Methodus Theologiam Studendi*, in LAUNOII *Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 330.

quence,

quence, thus to render it more intelligible and elegant. Of this class was PAULUS CORTESIUS, who wrote, with this view, a commentary on the *Book of Proverbs*, in which, as we learn from himself, he forms a happy union between eloquence and theology, and cloaths the principal intricacies of scholastic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perspicuous style [c]. But after all, the scholastic theology, supported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the Dominicans and Franciscans, maintained its ground against its various opposers, nor could these two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thoughts of losing the glory they had acquired by quibbling and disputing in the pompous jargon of the schools.

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XI. This vain philosophy, however, grew daily more contemptible in the esteem of the judicious and the wise, while, at the same time, the *Mystics* gathered strength, and saw their friends and abettors multiply on all sides. Among these there were, indeed, certain men of distinguished merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagances that were mingled with the discipline and doctrine of that famous sect, such as THOMAS A KEMPIS, the author of the Germanic theology, so highly commended by LUTHER, LAURENTIUS JUSTINIANUS, SAVANAROLA, and others. There are, on the other hand, some writers of this sect, such as VINCENTIUS FERRERIUS, HENRICUS HARPHIUS, and BERNARD SENENSIS, in whose productions we must carefully separate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fancy, as also the visions of DIONYSIUS, whom the *Mystics* consider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wisdom, with which they are mingled. The *Mystics* were defended against their adversaries the Dialecticians, partly by the Platonics who were every where held in high esteem, and partly by some even of the most eminent scholastic doctors. The former considered DIONYSIUS as a person whose sentiments had been formed and nourished by the study of Platonism, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in MARCILIUS

And also by
the Mystics.

[c] This work was published in folio at Rome in the year 1512, and at Basil in 1513.

FICINUS,

C E N T. FICINUS, whose name adds a lustre to the Platonic school.
 XV. The latter attempted a certain sort of association between
 P A R T II. the scholastic theology and that of the Mystics; and in
 this class were JOHN GERSON, NICHOLAS CUSANUS,
 DIONYSIUS the Carthusian, and others.

The state of
 polemic or
 controversial
 divinity.

XII. The controversy with the enemies of Christianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages, and several learned and eminent men seemed now to exert themselves with peculiar industry and zeal in demonstrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it against the various objections of its adversaries. This appears from the learned book of MARCILIUS FICINUS, *Concerning the Truth of Christianity*, SAVANAROLA's *Triumph of the Cross*, the *Natural Theology* of RAYMOND DE SABUNDE, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by PEREZIUS and JEROME DE St. FOI, the Saracens by JOHANNES DE TURRECREMATA, and both these classes of unbelievers were opposed by ALPHONSUS DE SPINA, in his work entitled, *The Fortrefs of Faith*. Nor were these pious labours in defence of the Gospel at all unseasonable or superfluous; on the contrary, the state of things at this time rendered them necessary. For, on the one hand, the Aristotelian philosophers in *Italy* seemed, in their public instructions, to strike at the foundations of all religion; and, on the other hand, the senseless subtilties and quarrels of the school-men, who modelled religion according to their extravagant fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many places promiscuously with the Christians, who were therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy, to defend themselves with the utmost assiduity and zeal.

The schism
 between the
 Latins and
 Greeks not
 yet healed.

XIII. We have already taken notice of the fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy divisions that separated the Greek and Latin churches. After the council of *Florence*, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, NICHOLAS V exhorted and intreated them again to turn their thoughts towards the restoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the space of three years after the writing of this last letter, *Constantinople*

tinople was besieged and taken by the Turks. And from that fatal period to the present time, the Roman pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian patriarchs more obstinate and intractable than they were when their empire was in a flourishing state. Nor is this circumstance so difficult to be accounted for, when all things are duly considered. This obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the Latins and their pontiffs, that acquired, from day to day, new degrees of strength and bitterness in the hearts of the Greeks: an aversion, produced and nourished by a persuasion that the calamities they suffered under the Turkish yoke, might have been easily removed, if the western princes and the Roman pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly, when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.

XIV. We pass over in silence many trifling controversies among the Latins, which have no sort of claim to the attention of our readers. But we must not omit mentioning the revival of that famous dispute concerning the *kind* of worship that was to be paid to the blood of CHRIST, which was first kindled at *Barcelona*, in the year 1351, between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and had been left undecided by CLEMENT VI[d]. This controversy was now renewed at *Brixen*, in the year 1462, by JACOBUS à MARCHIA, a celebrated Franciscan, who maintained publicly, in one of his sermons, that the blood, which CHRIST shed upon the cross, did not belong to the *divine nature*, and of consequence was not to be considered as an object of *divine* and immediate worship. The Dominicans rejected this doctrine, and adopted, with such zeal, the opposite side of the question, that JAMES of *Brixen*, who performed the office of inquisitor, called the Franciscan before his tribunal, and accused him of *heresy*. The Roman pontiff PRUS II, having made

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The intestine divisions and contests of the Latins.

[d] LUC. WADDINGS *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 58.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 650.

several

C E N T. several ineffectual attempts to suppress this controversy,
 XV. was at last persuaded to submit the matter to the exami-
 PART II. nation and judgment of a select number of able divines. But many obstacles arose to prevent a final decision, among which we may reckon as the principal, the influence and authority of the contending orders, each of which had embarked with zeal in the cause of their respective champions. Hence, after much altercation and chicane, the pontiff thought proper to impose silence on both the parties in this miserable dispute, in the year 1464; declaring, at the same time, "That both sides
 "of the question might be lawfully held, until CHRIST's
 "Vicar upon earth should find leisure and opportunity
 "for examining the matter, and determining on what
 "side the truth lay." This *leisure* and *opportunity* have not as yet been offered to the pontiffs [e].

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies that were used in the Church during this century.

Rites of the
 Greek
 church.

I. THE state of religious ceremonies among the Greeks may be learned from the book of SIMEON of *Theſſalonica*, *Concerning Rites and Heresies* [f], from which it appears that the substance of religion was lost among that people; that a splendid shadow of pomp and vanity was substituted in its place by the rulers of the church; and that all the branches of divine worship were ordered in such a manner as to strike the imaginations and captivate the senses of the multitude. They pretended, indeed, to alledge several reasons for multiplying, as they did, the external rites and institutions of religion; and casting over the whole of divine worship such a pompous garb of worldly splendor. But in these reasons, and in all the explications they give of this gaudy ritual, there is much subtilty and invention, without the least

[e] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 206.—NAT. ALEXANDER, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sæc.* xv. p. 17.

[f] J. A. FABRICIUS gives us an account of the contents of this book in his *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xiv. p. 54.

appearance

appearance of truth or good sense to render them plausible. The origin of these multiplied rites, that cast a cloud over the native beauty and lustre of religion, is often obscure, and frequently dishonourable. And such as, by force of ill-applied genius and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to these ceremonies from the circumstances that gave occasion to them, have failed egregiously in this desperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to seduce any mind that is void of prejudice and capable of attention.

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XV.
P A R T II.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of the overgrown multitude of ceremonies, festivals, temples, and the like, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, they nevertheless distinguished, every one his own pontificate, by some new institution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus CALIXTUS III, to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of *Belgrade* from the victorious arms of MAHOMET II, who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the *Transfiguration of CHRIST* (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. And SIXTUS IV, in the year 1476, granted *Indulgences* by an express and particular edict to all those, who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the *immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin*, with respect to which none of the Roman pontiffs before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive appointment [g]. The other additions that were made to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship of the Virgin MARY, public and private prayers, the traffic of *Indulgences*, and other things of that nature, are of too little importance to deserve an exact and circumstantial enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to

Rites increased in the Latin church.

[g] See RAPH. VOLATERRANI *Comment. Urbani*, lib. viii. f. 289.—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *De Statu Europæ sub Frederico III*, cap. x, in FREHERI *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 104.

C E N T. mere show, to a show composed of pompous absurdities
 XV. and splendid trifles.
 P A R T II.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the heresies, sects, and divisions that troubled the Church during this century.

Manicheans
 and Wal-
 denfes.

I. **N**EITHER the severe edicts of the pontiffs and emperors, nor the barbarity and vigilance of the unrelenting *inquisitors*, could extirpate the remains of the ancient heresies, or prevent the rise of new sects. We have already seen the Franciscan Order at open war with the church of *Rome*. In *Bosnia*, and the adjacent countries, the Manicheans, or Paulicians, who were the same with the sect named in *Italy*, *Catharists*, propagated their doctrines with confidence, and held their religious assemblies with impunity. It is true, indeed, that the great protector of the Manicheans, STEPHEN THOMASCUS, king of *Bosnia*, abjured their errors, received baptism by the ministry of JOHN CARVAIALUS, a Roman cardinal, and, in consequence thereof, expelled these heretics out of his dominions. But it is also certain, that he afterwards changed his mind; and it is well known, that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Manicheans inhabited *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and the neighbouring provinces. The *Waldenses* also still subsisted in several European provinces, more especially in *Pomerania*, *Brandenburg*, the district of *Magdeburg* and *Thuringia*, where they had a considerable number of friends and followers. It appears, however, by authentic records, which are not yet published, that a great part of the adherents of this unfortunate sect, in the countries now mentioned, were discovered by the *inquisitors*, and delivered over by them to the civil magistrates, who committed them to the flames.

Beghards,
 Schwestri-
 ones, Pic-
 hards, and
 Adamites.

II. The *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* (who were called, in *Germany*, *Beghards*, or *Schwestriones*, and in *France*, *Turelupins*, and whose distinctive character was a species of mysticism, that bordered upon frenzy) wandered about in a secret and disguised manner in several
 several

several parts of *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, and particularly in *Suabia* and *Switzerland*, where they spread the contagion of their enthusiasm, and caught the unwary in their snares. The search, however, that was made after them was so strict and well-conducted, that few of the teachers and chiefs of this fanatical sect escaped the hands of the *inquisitors* [b]. When the war between the *Hussites* and the votaries of *Rome* broke out in *Bohemia* in the year 1418, a troop of these fanatics, with a person at their head whose name was JOHN, repaired thither, and held secret assemblies, first at *Prague*, and afterwards in different places, from whence they, at length, retired to a certain island, where they were less exposed to the notice of their enemies. It was, as we have already had occasion to observe, one of the leading principles of this sect, that the tender instincts of nature, with that bashfulness and modesty that generally accompany them, were evident marks of *inherent corruption*, and shewed, that the mind was not sufficiently *purified* nor rendered conformable to the divine nature, from whence it derived its origin. And they alone were deemed perfect by these fanatics, and supposed to be united to the Supreme Being, who could behold, without any emotion, the naked bodies of the sex to which they did not belong, and who, in imitation of what was practised before the fall by our first parents, went stark naked, and conversed familiarly in this manner with males and females, without feeling any of the tender propensities of nature. Hence it was that the *Beghards*, (whom the Bohemians, by a change in the pronunciation of that word, called *Picards*) when they came into their religious assemblies, and were present at

C E N T.
XV.
P A R T I E.

[b] FELIX MALLEOLUS (whose German name is *Haemmerlein*) in his account of the *Lollards*, which is subjoined to his book *Contra validos Mendicantes*, i. e. *against the sturdy Beggars*, *Oper. plag. c. 2. a.* has given us a list, though a very imperfect one, of the *Beghards* that were committed to the flames in *Switzerland* and the adjacent countries during this century. This author, in his books against the *Beghards* and *Lollards*, has (either through design, or by a mistake founded on the ambiguity of the terms) confounded together three different classes of persons, who were usually known by the appellation of *Beghards* and *Lollards*, as 1st, the *Tertiaries* or third order of the more austere *Franciscans*; 2^{dly}, the *Brethren of the free spirit*; and 3^{dly}, the *Cellite* or *Alexian* friars. Many writers have fallen into the same error.

C E N T. the celebration of divine worship, appeared absolutely
 XV.
 PART II. naked, without any sort of veil or covering at all. They
 had also constantly in their mouths a maxim, which,
 indeed, was very suitable to the genius of the religion
 they professed, viz. that THEY WERE NOT FREE (*i. e.*
sufficiently extricated from the shackles of the body) *who*
made use of garments, particularly such garments as covered
the thighs and the parts adjacent. These horrible tenets
 could not but cast a deserved reproach upon this absurd
 sect; and though nothing passed in their religious as-
 semblies that was contrary to the rules of virtue, yet
 they were universally suspected of the most scandalous
 incontinence, and of the most lascivious practices. ZISKA,
 the austere general of the Hussites, gave credit to these
 suspicions, and to the rumours they occasioned; and,
 falling upon this miserable sect in the year 1421, he put
 some to the sword, and condemned the rest to the flames,
 which dreadful punishment they sustained with the most
 chearful fortitude, and also with that contempt of death
 that was peculiar to their sect, and which they possessed
 in a degree that seems to surpass credibility [*i*]. Among
 the various titles by which these extravagant enthusiasts
 were distinguished, that of *Adamites* was one; and it was
 given them on account of their being so studious to
 imitate the state of innocence in which the first man was

[*i*] See JO. LASITII *Historia Fratrum Bobemorum*, MS. lib. ii. § lxxvi.
 who proves in a satisfactory and circumstantial manner, that the *Hussites* and
 the *Bohemian Brethren* were entirely distinct from these *Picards*, and had
 nothing at all in common with them. The other authors that have written
 upon this subject are honourably mentioned by ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE, in
 his *Dissertation sur les Adamites de Bobeme*, which is subjoined to LENFANT'S
Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites. This learned author is at vast pains in justi-
 fying the *Picards*, or *Bohemian Adamites*, whom he supposes to have been
 the same with the *Waldenses*, and a set of men eminent for their piety, whom
 their enemies loaded with the most groundless accusations. But this is ma-
 nifestly endeavouring to wash the *Æthiopian* white. For it may be demon-
 strated, by the most unexceptionable and authentic records, that the account
 I have given of the matter is true. The researches I have made, and the
 knowledge they have procured me of the civil and religious history of these
 times, entitle me perhaps to more credit in such a point as this, than the
 laborious author from whom I differ, whose acquaintance with the history
 of the middle age was but superficial, and who was, by no means, exempt
 from prejudice and partiality.

originally

originally created. The ignominious term of *Beghards*,^{CENT. XV.} or *Picards*, which was at first peculiar to the small sect of ^{PART II.} which we now treat, was afterwards applied to the *Hussites*, and to all the Bohemians who opposed the tyranny of the Roman church. All these were called by their enemies, and indeed by the multitude in general, *Picard friars*.

III. A new sect, which made a great noise, and infected the multitude with the contagion of their enthusiasm,^{The White Brethren.} arose about the beginning of this century. A certain priest, whose name is not known, descended from the *Alps* [*k*], arrayed in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of persons of both sexes, who, after the example of their chief, were also clothed in white linen, from whence they were distinguished by the name of *Fratres Albati*, i. e. *White Brethren*. This enthusiastic multitude went in a kind of procession through several provinces, following a cross, which their leader held erected like a standard, and, by the striking appearance of their sanctity and devotion, captivated to such a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that persons of all ranks and orders flocked, in crowds, to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of an incensed Deity, emaciated his body by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, endeavoured to persuade the European nations to renew the war against the Turks in *Palestine*, and pretended, that he was favoured with divine visions,

☞ [*k*] THEODORIC DE NIEM tells us, that it was from *Scotland* that this sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet ELIAS. SIGONIUS and PLATINA inform us, that this enthusiast came from *France*; that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes, and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and singing hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable profelytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol. ap. MURATORI*,—NIEM. lib. ii. cap. xvi.

CENT.
XV.
PART II.

which instructed him in the will and in the secrets of heaven. BONIFACE IX, apprehending that this enthusiast or impostor concealed insidious and ambitious views [1], had him seized and committed to the flames, upon which his followers were dispersed, and his sect entirely extinguished. Whether a punishment so severe was inflicted with reason and justice, is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for several writers of great credit and authority maintain the innocence of this sectary, while others assert, that he was convicted of the most enormous crimes [m].

The men of
understand-
ing.

IV. In the year 1411, a sect was discovered in *Flanders*, and more especially at *Brussels*, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whose name was ÆGIDIUS CANTOR, and to WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN, a Carmelite monk, and whose members were distinguished by the title of *Men of understanding*. There were many things reprehensible in the doctrine of this sect, which seemed to be chiefly derived from the theology of the Mystics. For they pretended to be honoured with celestial visions, denied that any could arrive at a perfect knowledge of the Holy Scriptures without the extraordinary succours of a Divine illumination; declared the approach of a new revelation from heaven, more complete and perfect than the Gospel of CHRIST; maintained, that the resurrection was already accomplished in the person of JESUS, and that no other resurrection was to be expected; affirmed, that the inward man was not defiled by the outward actions, whatever they were; that the pains of hell were to have an end, and that, not only all mankind, but even the devils themselves, were to return to God, and be made partakers of eternal felicity. This sect seems to have been a branch of that

[1] What Dr. MOSHEIM hints but obscurely here is farther explained by SIGONIUS and PLATINA, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at *Viterbo*, and that BONIFACE, fearing lest the priest, who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burnt.

[m] See LENFANT, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 102.—POGGIA, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122.—MARC. ANTON. SABELLICUS in *Enneadibus Rhapsodiæ Historicæ*, *Ennead.* ix. lib. ix. tom. ii. opp. p. 839. published in folio at *Basil* in the year 1560.

of

of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; since they declared, that a new dispensation of grace and spiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghost. It must however be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their absurdities were mingled with several opinions, which shewed, that they were not totally void of *understanding*; for they maintained among other things, “1st, that CHRIST alone had merited eternal life and felicity for the human race, and that therefore men could not acquire this inestimable privilege by their own actions alone; 2^{dly}, that the priests, to whom the people confessed their transgressions, had not the power of absolving them, but that it was CHRIST alone in whom this authority was vested; and 3^{dly}, that voluntary penance and mortification were not necessary to salvation.” These propositions, however, and some others, were declared *heretical* by PETER D’AILLY, bishop of *Cambray*, who obliged WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN to abjure them [n], and opposed with the greatest vehemence and success the progress of this sect.

C E N T.
XV.
P A R T II.

V. The sect of the *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, continued to excite commotions in *Germany*, more especially in *Thuringia* and the *Lower Saxony*; but these fanatics were very different from the ancient heretics of the same name, who ran wildly in troops through various provinces. The new *Whippers* rejected not only the sacraments, but also every branch of external worship, and placed their only hopes of salvation in *faith* and *flagellation*, to which they added some strange doctrines concerning the *evil spirit*, and other matters, which are not explained with sufficient perspicuity in the records of antiquity. The person that appeared at the head of this sect in *Thuringia* was CONRAD SCHMIDT, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended and committed to the flames [o], in the year 1414, by HENRY SCHONE-

A new sect
of Flagel-
lantes or
Whippers.

[n] See the records of this transaction in STEPH. BALUZ. *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 277.

[o] *Excerpta Monachi Pirnensis*, in JO. BURCH. MENKINII *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 1521.—*Chron. Monaster.* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analect. vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 71.—*Chron. Magdeb.* in MEIBOMII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. ii. p. 362.—From XVI articles of faith adopted

CENT. FELD, who was, at that time, inquisitor in Germany,
 XV. and rendered his name famous by his industry and zeal
 PART II. in the extirpation of heresy. NICHOLAS SCHADEN
 suffered at *Quedlingburg*, for his attachment to this sect.
 BERTHOLD SCHADE, who was seized at *Halberstadt* in
 the year 1481, escaped death, as appears most probable,
 by abjuring their doctrine [p]; and we find in the re-
 cords of these unhappy times a numerous list of the *Fla-*
gellantes, whom the German inquisitors devoted to the
 flames.

by this sect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquisitor of
Brandenborch in the year 1411. and which CONRAD SCHMIDT is said to
 have taken from the papers of *Walkenried*, we may derive a tolerable idea of
 their doctrine, of which the substance is as follows: *That the opinions adopted*
by the Roman church with respect to the efficacy of the sacraments, the flames of
purgatory, praying for the dead, and several other points, are entirely false and
groundless; and that the person, who believes what is contained in the Apostles
Creed, repeats frequently the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria, and at certain
times lashes his body severely, as a voluntary punishment of the transgressions he
has committed, shall obtain eternal salvation.

[p] See the account of this matter which is given by the learned JO. ER-
 NEST KAPPIUS, in his *Relat. de rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A.
 1747, p. 475.

A N
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.
BOOK THE FOURTH.

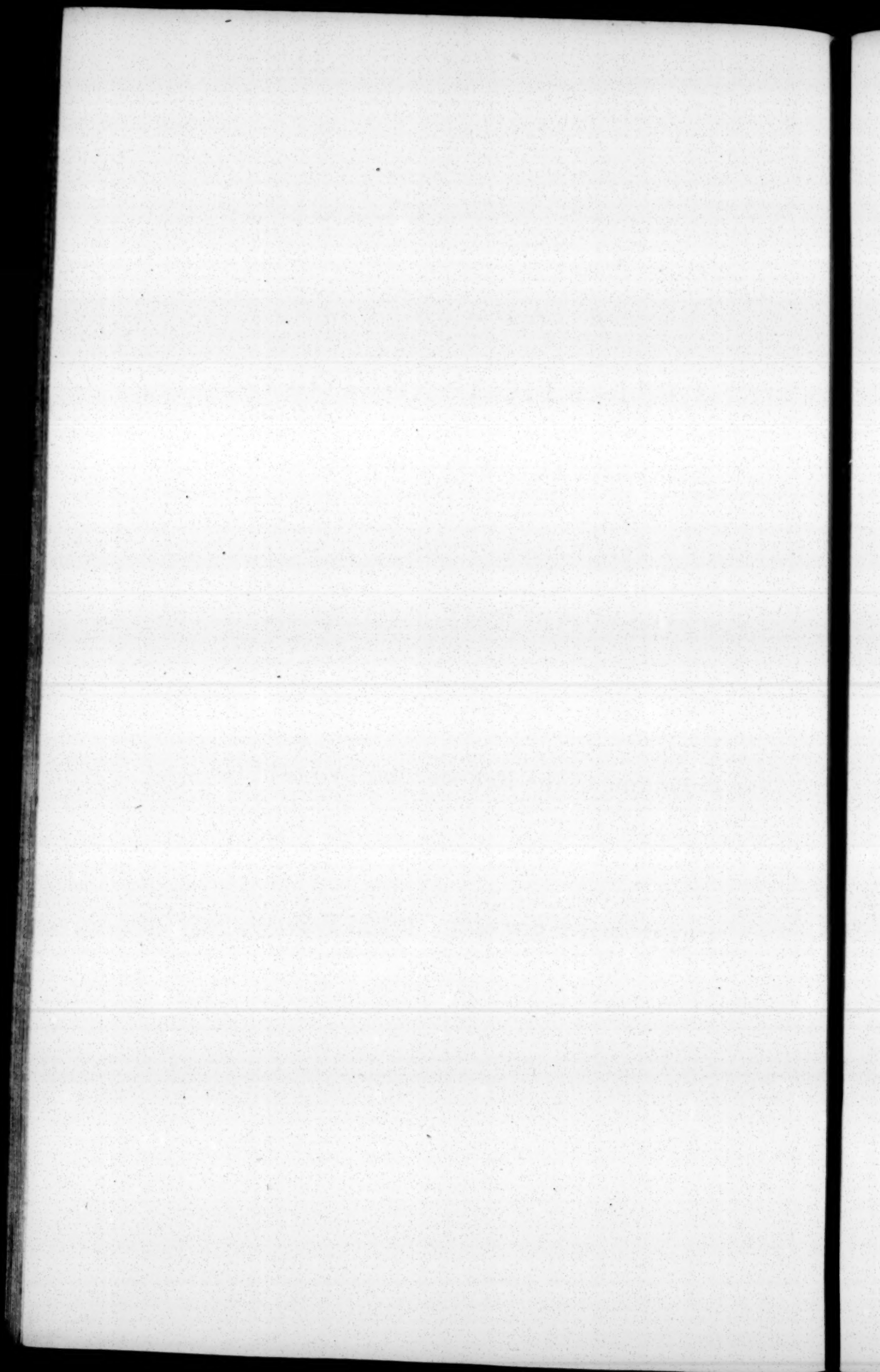
CONTAINING THE
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

FROM
The Beginning of the Reformation by Luther

TO
THE PRESENT TIMES.

T 4

IN-



INTRODUCTION.

I. **T**HE order and method, that have been followed in the former part of this Work, cannot be continued, without the greatest inconveniences, in this Fourth book, which relates to the modern history of the church. From the commencement of the sixteenth century, the face of religion was remarkably changed; the divisions, that had formerly perplexed the church, increased considerably; and the Christian societies, that relinquished the established forms of divine worship, and erected themselves into separate assemblies upon principles different from those of the Roman hierarchy, multiplied from day to day. This circumstance renders it impossible to present in one connected series, or, as it were, in one continued tabulation, the events, vicissitudes, and revolutions, that happened in the church, divided its members, and enfeebled the dominion of its tyrants. From the period on which we now enter, the bond of union among Christians, that had been formed by a blind obedience to the Roman pontiffs, was every where either dissolved, or, at least, relaxed; and consequently this period of our history must be divided into a multitude of branches, into as many parts, as there were famous sects that arose in this century.

The method observed in the preceding part of this history changed in the Fourth book.

II. It is however proper to observe here, that many of the events, which distinguish this century, had a manifest relation to the church in general, and not to any Christian society in particular. And as these events deserve to be mentioned separately, on account of their remarkable tendency to throw a light upon the state of Christianity in general, as well as upon the history of each particular Christian society, we shall therefore divide

The history of the church in this century may be divided into two general heads.

INTRODUCTION.

vide this Fourth book into two main and principal parts, of which the one shall contain the *General*, and the other the *Particular History of the Christian Religion*.

The general
history of
the church--
its extent.

III. To the *General History* belong all those events, which relate to the state of Christianity, considered in itself and in its utmost extent, to the Christian church viewed in the general, and abstracted from the miserable and multiplied divisions into which it was rent by the passions of men. Under this head we shall take notice of the advancement and progress of Christianity in general, without any regard to the particular sects that were thus instrumental in promoting its interests; nor shall we omit the consideration of certain doctrines, rites, and institutions, which appeared worthy of admission to all, or, at least, to the greatest part of the Christian sects, and which consequently produced every where changes and improvements of more or less importance.

Particular
history.

IV. In the *Particular History* of this century, we propose passing in review, in their proper order, the various sects into which the Christian church was divided. This part of our work, for the sake of method and precision, we shall subdivide into two. In the *first* we shall comprehend what relates to the more *ancient* Christian sects, both in the eastern and western hemispheres; while the *second* shall be confined to the history of those more *modern* societies, the date of whose origin is posterior to the Reformation in *Germany*. In the accounts that are here to be given of the circumstances, fate, and doctrines of each sect, the method laid down in the Preface to this Work shall be rigorously observed, as far as is possible; since it seems the most adapted to lead us to an accurate knowledge of the nature, progress, and tenets of every Christian society, that arose in these times of discord.

History of
the Refor-
mation.

V. The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and we may add, the most glorious of all the Revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time of its divine and immortal founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the *Blessed Reformation*. This grand revolution, which arose in *Saxony* from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also

also extended its efficacy more or less to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main and principal spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest part both of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of *Europe* was, in a more especial manner, changed by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive, the inestimable advantages it *produced*, and the inconveniences of which it has been the *innocent occasion*. The history therefore of such an important revolution, from whence so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connexions are so extensive and universal, demands undoubtedly a peculiar degree of attention, and has an unquestionable right to the principal place in such a work as this. We therefore now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the plan and method already laid down.

T H E SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

The HISTORY of the REFORMATION.

CENT. I.
XVI.
SECT. I.

The division
of the first
section.

THE History of the Reformation is too ample and extensive to be comprehended without a certain degree of confusion, in the uninterrupted narration of one Section; we shall therefore divide it into *Four* parts.

The **FIRST** will contain *An Account of the State of Christianity before the Commencement of the Reformation.*

The **SECOND**, *The History of the Reformation, from its first Beginnings until the date of the Confession drawn up at Augsburg.*

The **THIRD** will exhibit *A View of the same History, from this latter period to the Commencement of the war of Smalcald.* And,

The **FOURTH** will carry it down to *The Peace that was entered into with the Abettors of the Reformation in the year 1555* [a]. This division is natural; it arises spontaneously from the events themselves.

[a] The writers of the *History of the Reformation*, of every rank and order, are enumerated by the very learned PHILIP. FRID. HANE (who himself deserves a most eminent rank in this class), in his *Historia Sacrorum a Lutero Emendatorum*, part I. cap. i. p. 1. and by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Centifolium Lutherianum*, part II. cap. clxxxvii. p. 863.—The greatest part, or at least the most eminent, of this list of authors must be consulted by such as desire a farther confirmation or illustration of the matters, which I propose to relate briefly in the course of this History. The illustrious names of SLEIDAN and SECKENDORFF, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this kind of erudition, are too well known to render it necessary to recommend their works to the perusal of the curious reader.

CHAP.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of the Christian Church before the Reformation.

I. **A**BOUT the commencement of this century the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenes, and Beghards, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the vallies of *Piedmont*, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of *Europe*, which separates the *Alps* from the *Pyrenean* mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

CENT.
XVI.
SECT. I.

Things are
in a quiet
state at the
beginning
of this cen-
tury.

II. We must not, however, conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance. This was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the pontiffs, the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their counsels, the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates, the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations, the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws, and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a *Reformation* of the church, in its head and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary

The com-
plaints a-
gainst the
popes and
clergy ines-
fectual.

CEN T.
XVI.
SECT. I.

necessary and happy purpose [b]. But these complaints and demands were not carried so far as to produce any good effect; since they came from persons who never presumed to entertain the least doubt about the supreme authority of the pope in religious matters, and who, of consequence, instead of attempting, themselves, to bring about that reformation that was so ardently desired, remained entirely unactive, and looked for redress to the court of *Rome*, or to a general council. As long as the authority of the Roman pontiff was held sacred, and his jurisdiction supreme, there could be no reason to expect any considerable reformation either of the corruptions of the church or of the manners of the clergy.

The Resto-
ration of
Learning.

III. If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly pontiffs, it was the restoration of learning in *Europe*, and the number of men of genius that arose, of a sudden, under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. But even this new scene of things was insufficient to terrify the lords of the church, or to make them apprehend the decline of their power. It is true, indeed, this happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the love of truth and sacred liberty. Nay, it is also certain that many of these great men, such as ERASMUS and others, pointed the delicacy of their wit, or levelled the fury of their indignation, at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priesthood, the abuses that reigned in the court of *Rome*, and the brutish manners of the Monastic Orders. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the papal jurisdiction and statutes, which

[b] These complaints and accusations have been largely enumerated by several writers. See, among many others, VAL. ERN. LOESCHERUS, in *Actis et documentis Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. p. 105.—cap. ix. p. 181. & ERN. SALOM. CYPRIAN. *Præfat. ad Wilk. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reformat.* published at *Leipfic* in 8vo, in the year 1717.—The grievances, complained of by the Germans in particular, are amply mentioned by J. F. GEORGIUS, in his *Gravamina Imperator, et Nationis German. adversus sedem Roman.* cap. vii. p. 261. Nor do the wiser and more learned among the modern Romanists pretend to deny that the church and clergy, before the time of LUTHER, were corrupted in a very high degree.

were

were absurdly, yet artfully sanctified by the title of *canon law*, or to call in question that ancient and most pernicious opinion, that *Christ* had established a vicegerent at *Rome*, cloathed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Entrenched, therefore, within these strongholds, the pontiffs looked upon their own authority and the peace of the church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies. Armed, moreover, with power to punish, and abundantly furnished with the means of rewarding in the most alluring manner, they were ready, on every commotion, to crush the obstinate, and to gain over the mercenary to their cause; and this indeed could not but contribute considerably to the stability of their dominion.

IV. Hence it was, that the bishops of *Rome* lived in the utmost security and ease, and, being entirely free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands of their lusts and passions. ALEXANDER VI, whom Humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him among the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of this century by the most tremendous crimes. The world was delivered from this papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed; though there are historians that attribute his death to sickness and old-age [c]. He was succeeded in the Pontificate by PIUS III, who, in less than a month, was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained by fraud and bribery by JULIAN DE LA ROVERE, who assumed the denomination of JULIUS II.

V. To the odious list of vices with which JULIUS II dishonoured the pontificate, we may add the most savage

[c] See the *Life of ALEXANDER VI*, in two volumes, 8vo, by ALEX. GORDON, Esq.—As also another life of the same pontiff, written with more moderation, and subjoined, along with that of LEO X, to the first volume of the learned and ingenious work, intituled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclésiastique François*, par M. D. B. published in 4to, at London, in 1752.

fierocity,

CENT.
XVI.
SECT. I.

The popes:
Alexander
VI.
Pius III.

Julius II.

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XVI.
S E C T. I.

ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war and bloodshed. He began his military enterprizes by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of *France* [d]. He afterwards laid siege to *Ferrara*; and, at length, turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer *Europe* to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a *vicar* of CHRIST who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities laid desolate. Under such a pontiff all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced.

The council
of *Pisa*.

VI. Nevertheless, from this dreadful cloud that hung over *Europe*, some rays of light seemed to break forth, that promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect that reformation in the church, that was so ardently and so universally desired. LEWIS XII, king of *France*, provoked by the insults he had received from this arrogant pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of *Rome*, which was represented by the title of *Babylon* on this coin [e]. Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor MAXIMILIAN I, assembled, in the year 1511, a council at *Pisa*, with an

[d] See Du Bos, *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*, published at the *Hague* in two volumes, 8vo, in the year 1710.

[e] See B. CHRIST. SIGISMUND, LIEBII *Commentatio de nummis Ludovici XII, Epigraphe, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, insignibus*; Leipzig, 1717.—See also *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 238. 243.—COLONIA, *Histoire Litter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 443.—The authenticity and occasion of this medal have been much disputed, and, as is well known, have afforded matter of keen debate.

intention

intention to set bounds to the tyranny of this furious C E N T.
pontiff, and to correct and reform the errors and cor- XVI.
ruptions of a superstitious church. JULIUS, on the other S E C T. I.
hand, relying on his own strength, and on the power of
his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without
the least concern, nay, treated them with mockery and
laughter. He did not, however, neglect the methods of
rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, that pru-
dence dictated, and therefore gave orders for a council to
meet in the palace of the Lateran in the year 1512 [f],
in which the decrees of the council of *Pisa* were con-
demned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting
terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have
been followed with the most dire and formidable *ana-*
themas against LEWIS and other princes, had not death
snatched away this audacious pontiff, in the year 1512,
in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

VII. He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by LEO X, ^{Leo X.}
of the family of MEDICIS, who, though of a milder
disposition than his predecessor, was nevertheless equally
indifferent about the interests of religion and the advance-
ment of true piety. He was a protector of men of learn-
ing, and was himself learned as far as the darkness of
the age would admit of. His time was divided between
conversation with men of letters and pleasure; though
it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was con-
secrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to
whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care,
and discovered the greatest impatience under events of
that nature. He was remarkable for his prodigality,
luxury, and imprudence, and has even been charged
with impiety, if not atheism. He did not however neg-
lect the grand object which the generality of his prede-
cessors had so much at heart, even the promoting and ad-
vancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see.
For he took the utmost care that nothing should be
transacted in the council of the Lateran, which JULIUS
had assembled and left sitting, that had the least ten-
dency to favour the *Reformation* of the church. He went
still farther; and, in a conference which he had with

[f] HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1559.

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SECT. I.

FRANCIS I, king of *France*, at *Bologna*, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the *Pragmatic Sanction* [g], which had been so long odious to the popes of *Rome*, and to substitute in its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects under the title of the *Concordate*, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance [b].

[g] We have mentioned this *Pragmatic Sanction*, Cent. XV. Part H. Chap. II. § XVI. note [g], and given there some account of its nature and design. This important edict is published at large in the eighth volume of the *Concilia HARDUINI*, p. 1949. as is the *Concordate*, that was substituted in its place, in the ninth volume of the same work, p. 1867. and in LEIBNITZ, his *Manuscriptorum Codicum Diplomata*, part I. p. 158. part II. p. 358.—The history of these two pieces is given in an ample and accurate manner by bishop BURNET, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3.—See also, on the same subject, DE BOULAY, *Historia Academ. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 61—109. Du CLOS, *Histoire de Louis XI.*—*Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François*, tom. i. Diss. ix. p. 415.—*Menagiana*, tom. iii. p. 285.

[b] The king went in person to the parliament to offer the *Concordate* to be registered, and letters patent were made out requiring all the judges and courts of justice to observe this *Act*, and see it executed. The parliament, after deliberating a month upon this important matter, concluded not to register the *Concordate*, but to observe still the *Pragmatic*, unless the former edict was received and established in as great an assembly as that was, which published the latter in the reign of CHARLES VII. And when by violence and force they were obliged to publish the *Concordate*, they joined to this publication a solemn protest, and an appeal from the pope to the next general council, into both which measures the university and the clergy entered with the greatest alacrity and zeal. But royal and papal despotism at length prevailed.

The chancellor DE PRAT, who was principally concerned in promoting the *Concordate*, has been generally regarded as an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican church. The illustrious and learned president HAINAULT has not, however, hesitated to defend his memory against this accusation, and to justify the *Concordate* as an equitable contract, and as a measure attended with less inconveniencies than the *Pragmatic Sanction*. He observes, that by the king's being invested, by the *Concordate*, with the privilege of nominating to the bishoprics and vacant benefices of the first class, many corruptions and abuses were prevented, which arose from the simoniacal practices, that prevailed almost every where, while, according to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, every church chose its bishop, and every monastery its abbot. He observes moreover, that this nomination was the natural right of the crown, as the most considerable part of the great benefices had been created by the kings of *France*; and he insists particularly on this consideration, that the right, which Christian communities have to chuse their leaders, cannot be exercised by such large bodies without much confusion and many inconveniencies; and that the subjects, by entrusting their sovereign with the govern-

VIII. The

VIII. The raging thirst of dominion that consumed these pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all that came within the reach of their power, were accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of *Europe* were, in a manner, drained to enrich these ghostly tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of wealth, in order to augment the number of their friends and the stability of their dominion. And indeed, according to the notions commonly entertained, the rulers of the church seemed to have a fair enough pretext, from the nature of their character, to demand a sort of tribute from their flock; for none can deny to the supreme governors of any state (and such was the character assumed by the popes) the privilege of levying tribute from those over whom they bear rule. But as the name of *tribute* was every way proper to alarm the jealousy and excite the indignation of the civil magistrate, the pontiffs were too cunning to employ it, and had recourse to various stratagems and contrivances to rob the subject without shocking the sovereign, and to levy taxes under the specious mask and pretext of religion. Among these contrivances, the distribution of *indulgences*, which enabled the wealthy to purchase impunity for their crimes by certain sums applied to religious uses, held an eminent rank. This traffic of *indulgences* was constantly renewed whenever the coffers of the church were exhausted. On these occa-

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of the popes.

ment of the *state*, invest him *ipso facto* with an authority over the church, which is a *part* of the state and its noblest branch. See HAINAULT, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, in the *Particular Remarks* that are placed at the end of the reign of LEWIS XIV.

The most specious objection that was made to the *Concordate* was this: that, in return for the nomination to the vacant benefices, the king granted to the popes the *annates*, or *first fruits*, which had so long been complained of as an intolerable grievance. There is, however, no mention of this equivalent in the *Concordate*. And it was by a papal bull that succeeded this compact, that the pontiffs claimed the payment of the *first fruits*, of which they had put themselves in possession in the year 1316, and which had been suspended by the *Pragmatic Sanction*. See the *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François*. As this substitution of the *Concordate*, in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, was a most important transaction, and had a very great influence upon the minds of the English, the translator judged it necessary to give here some account of that matter.

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The pope's
authority
held inferior
to that of a
council.

sions, they were recommended warmly to the ignorant multitude under some new, specious, yet fallacious pretext, and were greedily sought after, to the great detriment both of individuals and of the community.

IX. Notwithstanding the veneration and homage that were almost every where paid to the Roman pontiffs, they were far from being universally reputed infallible in their decisions or unlimited in their authority. The wiser part of the German, French, Flemish, and British nations considered them as liable to error and bounded by law. The councils of *Constance* and *Basil* had contributed extremely to rectify the notions of the people in that respect; and from that period all Christians, except the superstitious monks and parasites of *Rome*, were persuaded that the pope was subordinate to a general council, that his decrees were not infallible, and that the council had a right to depose him, whenever he was convicted of gross errors or enormous crimes. Thus were the people, in some measure, prepared for the reformation of the church; and hence that ardent desire, that earnest expectation of a general council, which filled the minds of the wisest and best Christians in this century. Hence also those frequent appeals that were made to this approaching council, when the court of *Rome* issued out any new edict, or made any new attempt repugnant to the dictates of piety and justice.

The corrup-
tion of the
lower orders
of the clergy.

X. The licentious examples of the pontiffs were zealously imitated in the lives and manners of the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church. The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lusts and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous: for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals with more rigour and severity, than these ghostly rulers employed towards all such as were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem; and the most considerable part of that once-respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eye of the

the wise and good, but also in the universal judgment of the multitude [i]. Nor could the case be otherwise as matters were now constituted; for as all the offices and dignities of the church were become *venal* every where, the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honours.

XI. The prodigious swarms of monks that overspread *Europe* were universally considered as cumberers of the ground, and occasioned murmurs and complaints every where. And, nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, of an age that was but just emerging from the thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, that used to distinguish them in former times. But the Benedictine and the other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence, and, forgetful of the gravity of their character and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of vice in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the Mendicant orders, and especially those who followed the rule of St. DOMINICK and St. FRANCIS, though they were not carried away with the torrent of licentiousness that was overwhelming the church, yet they lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners, alienated from them the minds of the people, and diminished their reputation from day to day. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain eminent and learned men, who endeavoured to open the paths of science to the pursuits of the studious youth, recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the

The state of
the monastic
orders.

[i] See CORNELII AURELII GAUDANI *Apocalypsis, seu Visio Mirabilis super miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesiae*, in CASPAR. BURMANNI *Analec. Hist. de Hadriano VI*, p. 245. printed in 4to at Utrecht, in 1727.

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The Domi-
nicans.

barbarism of the age in their writings and in their discourse. This is sufficiently evident from what happened to REUCLINUS, ERASMUS, and other learned men.

XII. Among all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and their influence universal. This will not appear at all surprising, when we consider that they filled very eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the *inquisition*, and had the care of souls, with the function of *confessors*, in all the courts of *Europe*; a circumstance this, which, in these times of ignorance and superstition, manifestly tended to put the most of the European princes in their power. But, notwithstanding all this credit and authority, the Dominicans had their enemies; and about this time their influence began to decline. Nay, several marks of perfidy, that appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, exposed them justly to the public indignation. Nothing more infamous than the frauds they practised to accomplish their purposes, as may be seen, among other examples, by the tragedy they acted at *Bern*, in the year 1509 [k]. They were perpetually employed in stigma-

[k] This most impious fraud is recorded at length by RUCHAT, at the end of the sixth volume of his *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*; and also by HOTTINGER, in his *Hist. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334. There is also a compendious, but distinct narration of this infernal stratagem, in Bishop BURNET's *Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, p. 31. The stratagem in question was the consequence of a rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the *Immaculate Conception* of the Virgin MARY. The former maintained, that she was born without the blemish of *Original Sin*; the latter asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age of darkness and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground from day to day. To support the credit of their Order, they resolved, at a chapter held at *Vimpsen* in the year 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make *Bern* the scene of their operations. A person named JETZER, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit, as a lay-brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions they were contriving. One of the four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into JETZER's cell, and about midnight appeared to him

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tising, with the opprobrious mark of *Heresy*, numbers of learned and pious men, in encroaching upon the rights

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in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this frightful form he approached JETZER's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at *Paris*, as a judgment of heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime; adding, at the same time, that, by his means, he might be rescued from his misery, which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with horrible cries and howlings, frightened poor JETZER out of the little wits he had, and engaged him to promise to do all that was in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary mortifications, such as the *Discipline of the Whip* performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and JETZER's lying prostrate in the form of one crucified in the chapel during mass, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performance of these mortifications would draw down upon JETZER the peculiar protection of the Blessed Virgin; and concluded by saying, that he would appear to him again, accompanied with two other spirits. Morning was no sooner come, than JETZER gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who all unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him; and every one consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitudes that crowded about the convent, while the four friars that managed the imposture magnified, in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their discourse. The night after, the apparition was renewed with the addition of two impostors, dressed like devils, and JETZER's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes (the detail of whose enormities, for the sake of brevity, we shall here omit), the impostor talked much to JETZER of the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the Blessed Virgin; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in *Original Sin*; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory; that the Blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her son; and that the town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within her walls. In one of these apparitions, JETZER imagined that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and he was not mistaken; but, not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this. The prior appeared in various forms, some times in that of St. BARBARA, at others in that of St. BERNARD, at length he assumed that of the Virgin MARY, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits that were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals; the little images, that on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which, being tied to a cord that passed through a pulley over JETZER's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended Virgin to increase the delusion. The Virgin, thus equipped, ac-

C E N T. and properties of others to augment their possessions, and
 XVI. in laying the most iniquitous snares and stratagems for
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dress'd a long discourse to JETZER, in which, among other things, she told him, that she was conceived in *original Sin*, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him, as a miraculous proof of her presence, a *host*, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment; and after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were transacted, the *Virgin-prior* told JETZER, that she would give him the most affecting and undoubted marks of her son's love, by imprinting on him the *five wounds* that pierced JESUS on the cross, as she had done before to St. LUCIA and St. CATHERINE. Accordingly she took his hand by force, and struck a large nail through it, which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night this masculine virgin brought, as he pretended, some of the linen in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave JETZER a soporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized child, some grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, all which, with some stupifying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled together by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil in hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awakened, he found, to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, expos'd to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of MARY and another of the child JESUS; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little JESUS asked his mother, by means of this voice (which was that of the prior's), why she wept? and she answered, that her tears were owing to the impious manner in which the *Franciscans* attributed to *her* the honour that was due to *him*, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems of these Dominicans, were repeated every night; and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that, simple as JETZER was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior, who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The Dominicans fearing, by this discovery, to lose the fruits of their imposture, thought the best method would be to own the whole matter to JETZER, and to engage him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the cheat. JETZER was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the Dominicans, suspecting that he was not entirely gained over, resolv'd to poison him; but his constitution was so vigorous, that, though they gave him poison five several times, he was not

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the destruction of their adversaries [1]. And they were the principal counsellors, by whose instigation and advice LEO X was determined to that most rash and imprudent measure, even the public condemnation of LUTHER.

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XIII. The principal places in the public schools of learning were filled very frequently by monks of the Mendicant orders. This unhappy circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness, which had so long enveloped them; and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in several of the European provinces. The instructors of youth, dignified with the venerable titles of *Artists, Grammarians, Physicians, and Dialecticians*, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a certain quantity of barbarous terms, arid and senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts delivered in the most inelegant style; and all such as could repeat this jargon with a certain readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition. The whole body of the phi-

The state of
learning,
and of the
public
schools.

destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared with some spices, which, growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelps that were in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. At another time they poisoned the *host*, or consecrated wafer, but, as he vomited it up soon after he had swallowed it, he escaped once more. In short, there were no means of securing him, which the most detestable impiety and barbarity could invent, that they did not put in practice, till, finding at last an opportunity of getting out of the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this infernal plot. The affair being brought to *Rome*, commissaries were sent from thence to examine the matter; and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burnt alive on the last day of May, 1509. JETZER died some time after at *Constance*, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some. Had his life been taken away before he had found an opportunity of making the discovery already mentioned, this execrable and horrid plot, which, in many of its circumstances was conducted with art, would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle. This is a very brief account of the matter; such as are desirous of a more circumstantial relation of this famous imposture, may consult the authors mentioned in the beginning of this note.

[1] See BILIB. PIRKHEIMERI *Epistola ad Hadrianum Pontif. Maxim. de Dominicanorum flagitiis*, in opp. ejus, p. 372. This letter is also to be found in GERDESII *Introd. ad Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. i. p. 170. Append.

losophers

CENT. Philosophers extolled ARISTOTLE beyond all measure; while
 XVI. scarcely any studied him, and none understood him.
 SECT I. For what was now exhibited, as the philosophy of that
 famous Grecian sage, was really nothing more than a
 confused and motley heap of obscure notions, sentences,
 and divisions, which even the public doctors and heads
 of schools were unable to comprehend. And if, among
 these thorns of scholastic wisdom, there was any thing
 that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and
 blasted by the furious wranglings and disputes of the
Scotists and *Thomists*, the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, whose
 clamours and contentions were unhappily heard in all the
 European academies.

The state of
 theology.

XIV. The wretched and senseless manner of teaching
 theology in this century, may be learned from many
 books yet extant, which were wrote by the divines it
 produced, and which, in reality, have no other merit than
 their enormous bulk. The expositors of the holy scrip-
 tures were very few in number, during this century; and
 there were scarcely any of the Christian doctors that had
 a critical knowledge of the sacred oracles. This kind of
 knowledge was so rare, that, when LUTHER arose, there
 could not be found, even in the university of *Paris*, which
 was considered as the first and most famous of all the
 public schools of learning, a single person qualified to
 dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine, upon a scripture
 foundation. Any commentators, that were at this time
 to be found, were such, as, laying aside all attention to
 the true meaning and force of the words of scripture,
 which their profound ignorance of the original languages
 and of the rules of criticism rendered them incapable of
 investigating, gave a loose to their vain and irregular
 fancies, in the pursuit of mysterious significations. The
 greatest part of the public teachers belonged to these
 classes of divines, which we have formerly mentioned
 under the titles of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, who were ex-
 tremely fond, the *former* of loading their accounts both
 of the truths and precepts of religion, with multiplied
 quotations and authorities from the writings of the an-
 cient doctors; the *latter* of explaining the doctrines of
 the gospel by the rules of a subtle and intricate philo-
 sophy.

XV. It must at the same time be observed, that the divines of this century disputed with a good deal of freedom upon religious subjects, and even upon those that were looked upon as most essential to salvation. There were several points of doctrine, which had not been as yet fixed and determined by the authority of the church; nor did the pontiffs, without some very urgent reason, restrain the right of private judgment, or force the consciences of men, except in those cases where doctrines were adopted, that seemed detrimental to the supremacy of the apostolic see, or to the temporal interests of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. Hence it is, that we could mention many Christian doctors before LUTHER, who inculcated not only with impunity, but even with applause, the very same tenets that afterwards drew upon him such heavy accusations and such bitter reproaches. And it is beyond all doubt, that this great reformer might have propagated these opinions without any danger or molestation, had he not pointed his warm remonstrances against the opulence of *Rome*, the overgrown fortunes of the bishops, the majesty of the pontiffs, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans.

XVI. The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to touch the heart. The number of those, who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people, was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained little else than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived the multitude instead of instructing them. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a common-place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the force of their lungs and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligations of obedience to her

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The liberty
of debating
religious
subjects.

The nature
of religious
worship as
it was cele-
brated at
this time.

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her decisions ; the virtues and merits of the saints and their credit in the court of heaven ; the dignity, glory, and love of the Blessed Virgin ; the efficacy of relicks ; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries ; the necessity of good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation ; the intolerable burnings of *purgatory*, and the utility of *indulgences*. Such were the subjects that employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century ; and they were, indeed, the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the *good old mother church*, and advance her temporal interests. A ministry, who would have taken it into their heads to inculcate the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, to exhibit the example of its divine author and the efficacy of his mediation as the most powerful motives to righteousness and virtue, and to represent the love of God and mankind as the great duties of the Christian life, such a ministry would have been very unprofitable servants to the church and to the papacy, however they might have promoted the cause of virtue and the salvation of souls.

The corrupt
and miser-
able condi-
tion of the
people in
general.

XVII. The state of things, that we have been now describing, exhibits to our view the true causes of that incredible ignorance in religious matters, which reigned universally in all countries, and among all ranks and orders of men ; an ignorance accompanied with the vilest forms of superstition, and the greatest corruption of manners. The clergy, who presided over the rites and ceremonies of the church, were far from shewing the least disposition to enlighten the ignorance or to check the superstition of the times ; nay, instead of opposing, they rather nourished and promoted them, as conducive to their safety and favourable to their interests. Nor was there more zeal shewn in stemming the torrent of immorality and licentiousness, than in dispelling the clouds of superstition and ignorance. For the prudence of the church had easily foreseen, that the traffic of *indulgences* could not but suffer from a diminution of the crimes and vices of mankind ; and, that in proportion as virtue gained an ascendant upon the manners of the multitude, the profits arising from *expiations*, *satisfactions*, and such like ecclesiastical contrivances, must necessarily decrease.

XVIII. Such then was the dismal condition of the church. Its corruption was complete, and the abuses that it permitted were gone to the greatest height of enormity. But in proportion to the greatness of this corruption was the ardor and impatience, with which all, who were endowed with any tolerable portion of solid learning, genuine piety, or even good sense, desired to see the church reformed and purged from these shocking abuses. And the number of those who were affected in this manner was very considerable in all parts of the western world. The greatest part of them, indeed, were, perhaps, over-moderate in their demands. They did not extend their views so far as a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, a suppression of those doctrines, which, however absurd, had acquired a high degree of credit by their antiquity, nor even to the abrogation of those rites and ceremonies, which had been multiplied in such an extravagant manner, to the great detriment of true religion and rational piety. All they aimed at was to set limits to the overgrown power of the pontiffs, to reform the corrupt manners of the clergy, and to prevent the frauds that were too commonly practised by that order of men, to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of the blinded multitude, and to deliver them from the heavy and unsupportable burthens that were imposed upon them under religious pretexts. But as it was impossible to obtain any of these salutary purposes without the suppression of various absurd and impious opinions, from whence the grievances complained of sprung, and indeed, without a general reformation of the religion that was publicly professed; so was this *reformation* supposed to be ardently, though silently wished for, by all those who publicly demanded the *reformation of the church in its head and in its members*.

XIX. If any sparks of real piety subsisted under this despotic empire of superstition, they were only to be found among the *Mystics*. For this sect, renouncing the subtilty of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, with all the acts and ceremonies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God the center and source of holiness and perfection. Hence the *Mystics* were loved and

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A reformation in the church ardently desired.

The Mystics.

C E N T. and respected by many persons, who had a serious sense
 XVI. of religion, and were of a tender and devotional com-
 S E C T. I. plexion. But as they were not entirely free from the
 reigning superstitions, but associated many vulgar errors
 with their practical precepts and directions; and as
 their excessive passion for contemplation led them into
 many chimerical notions, and sometimes into a degree of
 fanaticism that approached to madness, more effectual
 succours than theirs were necessary, to combat the in-
 veterate errors of the times, and to bring about the re-
 formation that was expected with such impatience.

C H A P. II.

*The History of the Reformation, from its first beginnings, to
 the Confession given in at Augsbuurg.*

The dawn
 of a reform-
 ation rises
 unexpect-
 edly.

I. **W**HILE the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission, and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent, an obscure and inconsiderable person arose, on a sudden, in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long-expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was MARTIN LUTHER, a native of *Aisleben*, in *Saxony*, a monk of the Augustinian *Eremites*, who were one of the Mendicant orders, and, at the same time, professor of divinity in the academy that had been erected at *Wittenberg*, a few years before this period, by FREDERIC the *Wise*. The papal chair was, at this time, filled by LEO X; MAXIMILIAN I, a prince of the house of *Austria*, was king of the Romans, and emperor of *Germany*; and FREDERIC, already mentioned, elector of *Saxony*. The bold efforts of this new adversary of the pontiffs were honoured with the applauses of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their success. It seemed scarcely possible that this puny DAVID could hurt

hurt a GOLIATH, whom so many heroes had opposed in C E N T. XVI.

II. None of the qualities or talents that distinguished ^{SECT. I.} LUTHER were of a common or ordinary kind. His ^{Luther.}

genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible; his magnanimity invincible, and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived. All this will be acknowledged even by his enemies, at least by such of them as are not totally blinded by a spirit of partiality and faction. He was deeply versed in the theology and philosophy that were in vogue in the schools during this century, and he taught them both with the greatest reputation and success in the academy of *Wittemberg*. As a philosopher, he embraced the doctrine of the *Nominalists*, which was the system adopted by his order; while, in divinity, he followed chiefly the sentiments of AUGUSTIN; but in both he preferred the decisions of Scripture and the dictates of right reason before the authority and opinions of fallible men. It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find but a few things in his character that render him liable to reproach [m].

III. The first opportunity that this great man had of unfolding to the view of a blinded and deluded age, the truth, which had struck his astonished sight, was offered by a Dominican, whose name was JOHN TETZEL [n].

Indulgences
preached up
by John
Tetzel in
1517.

[m] The writers who have given any circumstantial account of LUTHER and his transactions are accurately enumerated by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Centifolium Lutheranicum*; the first part of which was published at *Hamburg* in the year 1728, and the second in 1730, in 8vo.

[n] The historians who have particularly mentioned TETZEL, and his odious methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated in the work quoted in the preceding note, part I. p. 47. part II. p. 530.—What is said of this vile deceiver by ECHARD and QUETIF, in the *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 40. discovers the blindest zeal and the meanest partiality.

This

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This bold and enterprising monk had been chosen, on account of his uncommon impudence, by ALBERT archbishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, to preach and proclaim, in *Germany*, those famous *indulgences* of LEO X, which administered remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission not only with matchless insolence, indecency [o], and fraud, but even carried his impiety so far as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of CHRIST. At this, LUTHER, unable to smother his just indignation, raised his warning voice, and, in ninety-five propositions, maintained publicly at *Wittenberg*, on the 30th of September, in the year 1517, censured the extravagant extortion of these questors, and plainly pointed out the Roman pontiff as a partaker of their guilt, since he suffered the people to be seduced by such delusions from placing their principal confidence in CHRIST, the only proper object of their trust. This was the commencement and foundation of that memorable rupture and revolution in the church, which humbled the grandeur of the lordly pontiffs, and eclipsed so great a part of their glory [p].

[o] In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, TETZEL said, among other enormities, that *even had any one ravished the mother of God, he (TETZEL) had wherewithal to efface his guilt.* He also boasted, that *he had saved more souls from hell by these INDULGENCES, than St. PETER had converted to Christianity by his preaching.*

[p] Dr. MOSHEIM has taken no notice of the calumnies invented and propagated by some late authors, in order to make LUTHER's zealous opposition to the publication of *Indulgences* appear to be the effect of selfish and ignoble motives. It may not, therefore, be improper to set that in a true light; not that the cause of the reformation (which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is in no way affected by the views or characters of its instruments) can derive any strength from this inquiry, but as it may tend to vindicate the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion.

Mr. HUME, in his *History of the Reign of HENRY VIII*, has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged LUTHER to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the *Austin friars* had *USUALLY* been employed in *Saxony* to preach *Indulgences*, and from this trust had derived both profit and considera-

IV. This

IV. This debate between LUTHER and TETZEL was, at first, a matter of no great moment, and might have

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tion; that ARCEMBOLDI gave this occupation to the Dominicans *! that MARTIN LUTHER, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, RESENTING THE AFFRONT PUT UPON HIS ORDER, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves †. It were to be wished, that Mr. HUME's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the first place, it is not true, that the Austin friars had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the Dominicans ‡; and in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act by which it appears that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that Order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that, for half a century before LUTHER (i. e. from 1450 to 1517), during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service; if we except a monk, named Palzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal questor RAYMOND PERALDUS; so far is it from being true, that the Augustine order were exclusively, or even usually, employed in that service ||. Mr. HUME has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of PAUL SARPI, which has been abundantly refuted by DE PRIERO, PALLAVICINI, and GRAVISON, the mortal enemies of LUTHER.—But it may be alledged, that, even supposing it was not usual to employ the Augustine friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet LUTHER might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To shew the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

The true state of the debate between Luther and Tetzel.

Secondly, That, in the time of LUTHER, the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that LUTHER would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission, either for himself or for his Order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publickly, both in their discourses and in their writings §. Nay more, the

* HUME's *History of England*, under the House of Tudor, vol. i. p. 119.

† Id. lb. p. 120.

‡ See WEISMANNI *Memorabilia Historiæ Sacræ N. T.* p. 1051. 1115.

|| See HAPPII *Dissertat. de Nonnullis Indulgentiarum*, Sæc. xiv. et xv. *Quæstionibus*, p. 384. 387.

§ See WALCH. *Opp. Luther*, tom. xv. p. 114. 283. 312. 349.—SICKENDORF. *Hist. Lutheranismi*, lib. i. sect. vi. p. 13.

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been terminated with the utmost facility, had LEO X been disposed to follow the healing method which common pru-

very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of LUTHER, was offered by LEO to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his Order *, who gave it over entirely to ALBERT bishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*. Is it then to be imagined, that either LUTHER or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the Dominicans in general; since it was given to TETZEL alone, an individual member of that Order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led LUTHER to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider, in the *third* place,—That he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of *Rome*, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of LUTHER are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach LUTHER with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of ERASMUS, SLEIDAN, DE THOU, GUICCARDINI, and others, whose testimony might be perhaps suspected of partiality in his favour; but I speak of CAJETAN, HOGSTRAT, DE PRIERIO, EMSER, and even the infamous JOHN TETZEL, whom LUTHER opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even COCHLÆUS was silent on this head during the life of LUTHER; though, after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices †, that PALLAVICINI, BOSSUET, and other enemies of LUTHER, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of LUTHER were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of LUTHER's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. BOSSUET, to Mr. HUME, and to other abettors of this ill contrived and foolish story? Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. HUME's assertion is entirely groundless.

I might add many other considerations to shew the unreasonableness of supposing that LUTHER exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated clergy, to the severity of such a potent and despotic prince as CHARLES V, to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind.

* See WALCH. *loc. cit.* p. 371.

† SLEIDAN, *De Statu Rel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.*

dence must have naturally pointed out on such an occasion. For, after all, this was no more than a private dispute between two monks, concerning the extent of the pope's power with respect to the remission of sin. LUTHER confessed that the Roman pontiff was clothed with the power of remitting the *human* punishments inflicted upon transgressors, *i. e.* the punishments denounced by the church, and its visible head the bishop of *Rome*; but he strenuously denied that his power extended to the remission of the *divine* punishments allotted to offenders, either in this present, or in a future state; affirming, on the contrary, that these punishments could only be removed by the merits of CHRIST, or by voluntary acts of mortification and penance undertaken and performed by the transgressor. The doctrine of TETZEL was, indeed, directly opposite to the sentiments of LUTHER; for this senseless or designing monk asserted, that all punishments, present and future, human and divine, were submitted to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and came within the reach of his absolving power. This matter had often been debated before the present period; but the popes had always been prudent enough to leave it undecided. These debates, however, being sometimes treated with neglect, and at others carried on without wisdom, the seeds of discord gained imperceptibly new accessions of strength and vigour, and from small beginnings produced, at length, revolutions and events of the most momentous nature.

V. The sentiments of LUTHER were received with applause by the greatest part of *Germany*, which had long groaned under the avarice of the pontiffs and the extortions of their tax-gatherers, and had murmured grievously against the various stratagems that were daily put in practice, with the most frontless impudence, to fleece the rich, and to grind the faces of the poor. But the votaries of *Rome* were filled with horror, when they were informed of the opinions propagated by the Saxon reformer; more especially the Dominicans, who looked upon their order as insulted and attacked in the person of TETZEL. The alarm of controversy was therefore sounded, and TETZEL himself appeared immediately in the field against LUTHER, whose sentiments he pretended

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The adversaries of Luther and the patrons of Tetzels.

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to refute in two academical discourses, which he pronounced on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity. In the year following (1518) two famous Dominicans, SYLVESTER DE PRIERIO and HOGSTRAT, the former a native of *Italy*, and the latter a *German*, rose up also against the adventurous reformer, and attacked him at *Cologn* with the utmost vehemence and ardour. Their example was soon followed by another formidable champion, named ECKIUS, a celebrated professor of divinity at *Ingolstadt*, and one of the most zealous supporters of the Dominican order. LUTHER stood firm against these united adversaries, and was neither vanquished by their arguments, nor daunted by their talents and reputation; but answered their objections and refuted their reasonings with the greatest strength of evidence, and a becoming spirit of resolution and perseverance. At the same time, however, he addressed himself by letters, written, in the most submissive and respectful terms, to the Roman pontiff and to several of the bishops, shewing them the uprightness of his intentions, as well as the justice of his cause, and declaring his readiness to change his sentiments, as soon as he should see them fairly proved to be erroneous.

A conference is held between Luther and Cajetan at Augsbu'g.

VI. At first, LEO X beheld this controversy with indifference and contempt; but, being informed by the emperor MAXIMILIAN I, not only of its importance, but also of the fatal divisions it was likely to produce in *Germany*, he summoned LUTHER to appear before him at *Rome*, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to maintain. This papal summons was superseded by FREDERICK the Wise, elector of *Saxony*, who pretended, that the cause of LUTHER belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it was to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince, and ordered LUTHER to justify his intentions and doctrines before cardinal CAJETAN, who was, at this time, legate at the diet of *Augsburg*. In this first step the court of *Rome* gave a specimen of that temerity and imprudence with which all its negotiations, in this weighty affair, were afterwards conducted. For, instead of reconciling, nothing could tend more to inflame matters

matters than the choice of CAJETAN, a Dominican, and, consequently, the declared enemy of LUTHER, and friend of TETZEL, as judge and arbitrator in this nice and perilous controversy.

VII. LUTHER, however, repaired to *Augsburg*, in the month of October 1518, and conferred, at three different meetings, with CAJETAN himself [q], concerning the points in debate. But had he even been disposed to yield to the court of *Rome*, this imperious legate was, of all others, the most improper to encourage him in the execution of such a purpose. The high spirit of LUTHER was not to be tamed by the arrogant dictates of mere authority; such, however, were the only methods of persuasion employed by the haughty cardinal. He, in an overbearing tone, desired LUTHER to renounce his opinions, without even attempting to prove them erroneous, and insisted, with importunity, on his confessing humbly his fault and submitting respectfully to the judgment of the Roman pontiff [r]. The Saxon reformer could not think of yielding to terms so unreasonable in themselves and so despotically proposed; so that the conferences were absolutely without effect. For LUTHER, finding his adversary and judge inaccessible to reason and argument, left *Augsburg* all of a sudden, after having appealed from the present decisions of the pontiff to those which he should pronounce, when better informed; and, in this step, he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the bishop of *Rome* [s]. But LEO X, on the other hand, let loose the reins to ambition and despotism,

The issue of
this conference.

[q] There is a large account of this cardinal given by QUINTIF and ECHARD, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14.

[r] The imperious and imprudent manner in which CAJETAN behaved towards LUTHER was highly disapproved of even at the court of *Rome*, as appears, among other testimonies, from PAULO SARPI's *History of the Council of Trent*, book I. p. 22. The conduct of CAJETAN is defended by ECHARD, in his *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 15. but with little prudence, and less argument. The truth of the matter is, that the court of *Rome*, and its unthinking sovereign, were not less culpable than CAJETAN in the whole of this transaction. Since they might easily foresee, that a Dominican legate was of all others the most unlikely to treat LUTHER with moderation and impartiality, and consequently the most improper to reconcile matters.

[s] See B. CHRIST. FRID. BORNERI *Diff. de Colloquio Lutberi cum Ca-*

CEN T. and carried things to the utmost extremity ; for, in the month of November, this same year, he published a special edict, *commanding his spiritual subjects to acknowledge his power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgression of every kind.* As soon as LUTHER received information of this inconsiderate and violent measure, he perceived, plainly, that it would be impossible for him to bring the court of *Rome* to any reasonable terms ; he therefore repaired to *Wittemberg*, and, on the 28th of November, appealed from the pontiff to a general council.

The trans-
actions of
Miltitz.

All the pro-
jects of re-
conciliation
disconcerted
in 1519.

VIII. In the mean time, the Roman pontiff became sensible of the imprudence he had been guilty of in entrusting CAJETAN with such a commission, and endeavoured to mend the matter by employing a man of more candor and impartiality, and better acquainted with business, in order to suppress the rebellion of LUTHER, and to engage that reformer to submission and obedience. This new legate was CHARLES MILTITZ, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of LEO X, and whose lay-character expose him less to the prejudices that arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been cloathed with the splendid purple, or the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission as this was. LEO, therefore, sent him into *Saxony* to present to FREDERICK the golden consecrated *rose* (which the pontiffs are used to bestow, as a peculiar mark of distinction, on those princes, for whom they have, or think proper to profess, an uncommon friendship and esteem) and to treat with LUTHER, not only about finishing his controversy with TETZEL, but also concerning the methods of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the court of *Rome*. Nor, indeed, were the negotiations of this prudent minister entirely unsuccessful ; for, in his first conference with LUTHER, at *Altenburg*, in the year 1519, he carried matters so far as to persuade him to write a submissive letter to LEO X, promising to observe a profound silence upon

jetano, Leipf. 1722, in 4to.—VAL. ERN. LOSCHERI *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*. tom. ii. cap. xi. p. 435. opp. *Lutberi*, tom. xxiv. p. 409.

the matters in debate, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. This same year, in the month of October, MILTITZ had a second conference with LUTHER in the castle of *Liebenwerd*, and a third the year following, at *Lichtenberg* [t]. These meetings, which were reciprocally conducted with moderation and decency, gave great hopes of an approaching reconciliation; nor were these hopes ill founded [u]. But the violent proceedings of the enemies of LUTHER, and the arrogant spirit, as well as unaccountable imprudence of the court of *Rome*, blasted these fair expectations, and kindled anew the flames of discord.

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[w] IX. It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by CAJETAN to draw LUTHER anew under the papal yoke; because these measures were, indeed, nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most frontless impudence. A man, who began by commanding the reformer to renounce his errors, to believe, and that upon the dictates of mere authority, that *one drop of Christ's blood, being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs* [x]: such a man was not to be reasoned with. But MILTITZ proceeded in quite another manner, and his conferences with the Saxon reformer

The nature
of the con-
ferences be-
tween Mil-
titz and Lu-
ther.

[t] See B. CHRIST. FRID. B. The records, relating to the embassy of MILTITZ, were first published by ERN. SALOMON CYPRIANUS, in *Addit. ad WILH. ERN. TENZELII Histor. Reformat.* tom. i, ii.—As also by VAL. ERN. LOSCHERUS, in his *Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xvi. & tom. iii. cap. ii.

[u] In the year 1519, LEO X wrote to LUTHER in the softest and most pacific terms. From this remarkable letter (which was published in the year 1742, by LOSCHERUS, in a German work, intituled, *Unschuld Nacbriht*) it appears, that at the court of *Rome* they looked upon a reconciliation between LUTHER and the pontiff as certain and near at hand.

[w] This whole ninth section is added to Dr. MOSHEIM's work by the translator, who thought that this part of LUTHER's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner, than it is in the original.

[x] Such, among others still more absurd, were the expressions of CAJETAN, which he borrowed from one of the *Decretals* of CLEMENT VI, called (and that justly for more than one reason) *Extravagants*.

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are worthy of attention. He was ordered, indeed, to demand of the elector, that he would either oblige LUTHER to renounce the doctrines he had hitherto maintained, or, that he would withdraw from him his protection and favour. But, perceiving that he was received by the elector with a degree of coldness that bordered upon contempt, and that LUTHER's credit and cause were too far advanced to be destroyed by the efforts of mere authority, he had recourse to gentler methods. He loaded TETZEL with the bitterest reproaches, on account of the irregular and superstitious means he had employed for promoting the sale of indulgences, and attributed to this miserable wretch all the abuses that LUTHER had complained of. TETZEL, on the other hand, burthened with the iniquities of *Rome*, tormented with a consciousness of his own injustice and extortions, stung with the opprobrious censures of the new legate, and seeing himself equally despised and abhorred by both parties, died of grief and despair [y]. This incendiary being sacrificed as a victim to cover the Roman pontiff from reproach, MILTITZ entered into a particular conversation with LUTHER, at *Altenburg*, and, without pretending to justify the scandalous traffic in question, required only, that he would acknowledge the four following things: "1st, "That the people had been seduced by false notions of "indulgences: 2^{dly}, That he (LUTHER) had been the "cause of that seduction, by representing indulgences as "much more heinous than they really were: 3^{dly}, That "the odious conduct of TETZEL alone had given occasion to these representations: and 4^{thly}, That, "though the avarice of ALBERT, archbishop of *Mentz*, "had set on TETZEL, yet that this rapacious tax-gatherer had exceeded by far the bounds of his commission." These proposals were accompanied with many soothing words, with pompous encomiums on LUTHER's character, capacity, and talents, and with the softest and most pathetic expostulations in favour of union

[y] LUTHER was so affected by the agonies of despair under which TETZEL laboured, that he wrote him a pathetic letter of consolation, which however produced no effect. His infamy was perpetuated by a picture, placed in the church of *Pinna*, in which he is represented sitting on an ass, and selling indulgences.

and

and concord in an afflicted and divided church; all which MILTITZ joined together with the greatest dexterity and address, in order to touch and disarm the Saxon reformer. Nor were his mild and insinuating methods of negotiating without effect; and it was upon this occasion that LUTHER made submissions which shewed that his views were not, as yet, very extensive, his former prejudices entirely dispelled, or his reforming principles steddily fixed. For he not only offered to observe a profound silence for the future with respect to indulgences, provided the same condition were imposed on his adversaries; he went much farther; he proposed writing an humble and submissive letter to the pope, acknowledging that he had carried his zeal and animosity too far; and such a letter he wrote some time after the conference at *Altenburg* [z]. He even consented to publish a circular letter, exhorting all his disciples and followers to reverence and obey the dictates of the holy Roman church. He declared, that his only intention, in the writings he had composed, was to brand with infamy those emissaries who abused its authority, and employed its protection as a mask to cover their abominable and impious frauds. It is true, indeed, that amidst those weak submissions which the impartial demands of historical truth oblige us to relate, there was, properly speaking no retractation of his former tenets, nor the smallest degree of respect shewn to the infamous traffic of indulgences. Nevertheless, the pretended majesty of the Roman church, and the authority of the Roman pontiff, were treated by LUTHER in this transaction, and in his letter to LEO, in a manner that could not naturally have been expected from a man who had already appealed from the pope to a general council.

Had the court of *Rome* been prudent enough to have accepted of the submission made by LUTHER, they would have almost nipped in the bud the cause of the reformation, or would, at least, have considerably retarded its growth and progress. Having gained over the head, the members would, with greater facility, have been reduced to obedience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of some inconsiderate bigots renewed, happily for the truth, the

✍ [z] This letter was dated the 13th of March, 1519, about two months after the conference of *Altenburg*.

divisions,

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The disputes
at *Leipsie* in
the year
1519, be-
tween Ec-
kius and
Carlostadt.

divisions, which were so near being healed, and by animating both LUTHER and his followers to look deeper into the enormities that prevailed in the papal hierarchy, promoted the principles and augmented the spirit, which produced, at length, the blessed [a] reformation.

X. One of the circumstances that contributed principally, at least by its consequences, to render the embassy of MILTITZ ineffectual for the restoration of peace, was a famous controversy of an incidental nature that was carried on at *Leipsie*, some weeks successively, in the year 1519 [b]. A doctor, named ECKIUS, who was one of the most eminent and zealous champions in the papal cause, happened to differ widely from CARLOSTADT, the colleague and companion of LUTHER, in his sentiments concerning *Free-will*. The result of this variety in opinion was easy to be foreseen. The military genius of our ancestors had so far infected the schools of learning, that differences in points of religion or literature, when they grew to a certain degree of warmth and animosity, were decided, like the quarrels of valiant knights, by single combat. Some famous university was pitched upon as the field of battle, while the rector and professors beheld the contest, and proclaimed the victory. ECKIUS, therefore, in compliance with the spirit of this fighting age, challenged CARLOSTADT, and even LUTHER himself, against whom he had already drawn his pen, to try the force of his theological arms. The challenge was accepted, the day appointed, and the three champions

[a] See, for an ample account of LUTHER's conferences with MILTITZ, the incomparable work of SECKENDORF, intituled, *Commentar. Histor. Apologet. de Lutheranism, sive de Reformatione Religionis*, &c. in which the facts relating to LUTHER and the Reformation are deduced from the most precious and authentic manuscripts and records, contained in the library of *Saxe-Gottha*, and in other learned and princely collections, and in which the frauds and falsehoods of MAIMBOURG's *History of Lutheranism* are fully detected and refuted.—As to MILTITZ, his fate was unhappy. His moderation (which nothing but the blind zeal of some furious monks could have hindered from being eminently serviceable to the cause of *Rome*) was represented by ECKIUS, as something worse than indifference about the success of his commission; and after several marks of neglect received from the pontiff, he had the misfortune to lose his life in passing the *Rhine* at *Mentz*.

[b] These disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the 15th of July following.

appeared

appeared in the field. The first conflict was between CARLOSTADT and ECKIUS concerning the powers and freedom of the human will [c]; it was carried on in the castle of *Pleissenburg*, in presence of a numerous and splendid audience, and was followed by a dispute between LUTHER and ECKIUS concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontiff. This latter controversy, which the present situation of affairs rendered singularly nice and critical, was left undecided. Hoffman, at that time rector of the university of *Leipfic*, and who had been also appointed judge of the arguments alledged on both sides, refused to declare to whom the victory belonged; so that the decision of this matter was referred to the universities of *Paris* and *Erfurt* [d]. In the mean time, one of the immediate effects of this dispute was a visible increase of the bitterness and enmity which ECKIUS had conceived against LUTHER; for from this very period he breathed nothing but fury against the Saxon reformer [e], whom he marked out as a victim to

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[c] This controversy turned upon *liberty*, considered not in a philosophical but in a theological sense. It was rather a dispute concerning *power* than concerning *liberty*. CARLOSTADT maintained, that, since the fall of man, our natural liberty is not strong enough to conduct us to what is good, without the intervention of divine grace. ECKIUS asserted, on the contrary, that our natural liberty co-operated with divine grace, and that it was in the power of man to consent to the divine impulse, or to resist it. The former attributed all to God; the latter divided the merit of virtue between God and the creature. The modern *Lutherans* have almost universally abandoned the sentiments of CARLOSTADT.

[d] There is an ample account of this dispute at *Leipfic* given by VAL. ERN. LOSCHERUS, in his *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. c. vii. p. 203.

[e] This was one proof that the issue of the controversy was not in his favour. The victor, in any combat, is generally too full of satisfaction and self complacency, to feel the emotions of fury and vengeance, which seldom arise but from disappointment and defeat. There is even an insolent kind of clemency that arises from an evident and palpable superiority. This indeed ECKIUS had no opportunity of exercising. LUTHER demonstrated, in this conference, that the church of *Rome*, in the earlier ages, had never been acknowledged as superior to other churches, and combated the pretensions of that church and its bishop, from the testimony of scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the best ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees of the council of *Nice*; while all the arguments of ECKIUS were derived from the spurious and insipid *Decretals*, which were scarcely of 400 years standing. See SECKENDORFF's *Hist. of Lutheranism*.

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lancthon.

his vengeance, without considering, that the measures he took for the destruction of LUTHER, must have a most pernicious influence upon the cause of the Roman pontiff, by fomenting the present divisions, and thus contributing to the progress of the reformation, as was really the case [e].

XI. Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat was PHILIP MELANCTHON, at that time, professor of Greek at *Wittenberg*, who had not, as yet, been involved in these divisions (as indeed the mildness of his temper and his elegant taste for polite literature rendered him averse from disputes of this nature) though he was the intimate friend of LUTHER, and approved his design of delivering the pure and primitive science of theology from the darkness and subtilty of scholastic jargon [f]. As this eminent man was one of those, whom this dispute with ECKIUS convinced of the excellence of LUTHER's cause; as he was, moreover, one of the illustrious and respectable instruments of the Reformation; it may not be improper to give some account here of the talents and virtues that have rendered his name immortal. His greatest enemies have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowledge, that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies that may be compared with him; whether we consider the extent of his knowledge in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labours. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent

[e] It may be observed here, that, before LUTHER's attack upon the store-house of indulgences, ECKIUS was his intimate friend. ECKIUS must certainly have been uncommonly unworthy, since even the mild and gentle MELANCTHON represents him as an *inhuman persecutor*, a *sephist*, and a *knave*, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief and against his conscience. See the learned Dr. JORTIN's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 713; see also VITUS's account of the death of ECKIUS in SECKENDORFF, lib. iii. p. 468; and in the *Scholia ad Indicem* 1. Hist. of the same book, No XXIII.

[f] See MELANCTHON's Letter concerning the conference at *Leipsic*, in LOSCHER's *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. cap. viii. p. 215; as also in the *Wittenberg* edition of LUTHER's Works, vol i, p. 336.

service

service that LUTHER had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted, and by recommending them, in a powerful and persuasive manner, to the study of the Germans. He had the rare talent of discerning truth in all its most intricate connexions and combinations, of comprehending at once the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost perspicuity and ease. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of MELANCTHON more signal advantages and a more effectual support, than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which was partly owing to the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire with ardor that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him sometimes to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is however certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of *Rome*, but maintained, on the contrary, that their extirpation was essentially necessary in order to the restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timorous, and yielding. Hence arose a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care before he resolved upon any measure, but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was converted, all at once, into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shews, that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished

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The origin
of the re-
formation in
Switzer-
land.

diminished the weaknesſes and defects of MELANCTHON'S natural character without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and ſteddy, his deſire of reconciling all intereſts and pleaſing all parties leſs vehement and exceſſive, his triumph over the ſuperſtitious imbibed in his infancy more complete [g], he muſt deſervedly have been conſidered as one of the greateſt among men [h].

XII. While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus upon the decline in *Germany*, they received a mortal wound in *Switzerland* from ULRIC ZUINGLE, a canon of *Zurich*, whoſe extenſive learning and uncommon ſagacity were accompanied with the moſt heroic intrepidity and reſolution [i]. It muſt even be acknowledged [k], that this eminent man had perceived

[g] By this, no doubt, Dr. MOSHEIM means the credulity this great man diſcovered with reſpect to prodigies and dreams, and his having been ſomewhat addicted to the pretended ſcience of aſtrology. See SCHELHORNII *Amœnit. Hiſt. Eccleſ. et Lit.* vol. ii. p. 609.

[h] We have a *Life* of MELANCTHON, written by JOACHIM CAMERARIUS, which has already gone through ſeveral editions. But a more accurate account of this illuſtrious reformer, compoſed by a prudent, impartial, and well informed biographer, as alſo a complete collection of his *Works*, would be an ineffimable preſent to the republic of letters.

[i] The tranſlator has added, to the portrait of ZUINGLE, the quality of *heroic intrepidity*, becauſe it was a predominant and remarkable part of the character of this illuſtrious reformer, whoſe learning and fortitude, tempered by the greateſt moderation, rendered him perhaps beyond compariſon the brighteſt ornament of the proteſtant cauſe.

[k] Our learned hiſtorian does not ſeem to acknowledge this with pleaſure, as the Germans and Swiſs contend about the honour of having given the firſt overtures towards the Reformation. If, however, truth has obliged him to make this acknowledgement, he has accompanied it with ſome modifications, that are more artful than accurate. He ſays, “that ZUINGLE *bad perceived ſome rays of the truth before LUTHER had come to an open rupture,*” &c. to make us imagine that LUTHER might have ſeen the truth long before that rupture happened, and conſequently as ſoon as ZUINGLE. But it is well known, that the latter, from his early years, had been ſhocked at ſeveral of the ſuperſtitious practices of the church of *Rome*; that, ſo early as the year 1516 *, he had begun to explain the ſcriptures to

* RUCHART, *Hiſt. de la Reformation en Suiſſe*. ZUINGLI Opp. tom. i. p. 7. *Nouveau Diction.* vol. iv. p. 366. DURAND, *Hiſt. du xvi. Siecle*, tom. ii. p. 8, &c. JURIEU, *Apologie pour les Reformateurs*, &c. partie I. p. 119.

ſome

some rays of the truth before LUTHER came to an open rupture with the church of *Rome*. He was however afterwards still farther animated by the example and instructed by the writings of the Saxon reformer; and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigour. For he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people [1], but also gave, in the year 1519, a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was SAMSON, and who was carrying on, in *Switzerland*, the impious traffic of Indulgences with the same impudence that TETZEL had done in *Germany* [m]. This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, ZUINGLE pursued with steadiness and resolution the design that he had begun with such courage and success. His noble efforts were seconded by some other learned men educated in *Germany*, who became his colleagues and the companions of his labours, and who jointly with him succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of *Switzerland*. It is indeed to be observed, that ZUINGLE did not always use the same methods of conversion that were

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the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church; and that he had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the very time that LUTHER retained almost the whole system of popery, indulgences excepted. LUTHER proceeded very slowly to that exemption from the prejudices of education, which ZUINGLE, by the force of an adventurous genius and an uncommon degree of knowledge and penetration, easily got rid of.

[1] This again is inaccurate. It appears from the preceding note, and from the most authentic records of history, that ZUINGLE had explained the scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the pope, before the name of LUTHER was known in *Switzerland*. Besides, instead of receiving instruction from the German reformer, he was much his superior in learning, capacity, and judgment, and was much fitter to be his *master* than his *disciple*, as the four volumes, in folio, we have of his works abundantly testify.

[m] See JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Hist. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 28.—RUCHAT, *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 4.—66.—GERBES, *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 223.

employed

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Luther is
excommu-
nicated by
the pope, in
1520.

employed by LUTHER; nor, upon particular occasions, did he discountenance the use of violent measures against such as adhered with obstinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He is also said to have attributed to the civil magistrate, such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs, as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But, upon the whole, even envy itself must acknowledge, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of the highest approbation.

XIII. In the mean time, the religious dissensions in Germany increased, instead of diminishing. For while MILTITZ was treating with LUTHER in Saxony, in such a mild and prudent manner as offered the fairest prospect of an approaching accommodation. ECKIUS, inflamed with resentment and fury on account of his defeat at *Leipsic*, repaired with the utmost precipitation to Rome, to accomplish, as he imagined, the ruin of LUTHER. There, entering into a league with the Dominicans, who were in high credit at the papal court, and more especially with their two zealous patrons, DE PRIERIO and CAJETAN, he earnestly entreated LEO X to level the thunder of his *anathemas* at the head of LUTHER, and to exclude him from the communion of the church. The Dominicans, desirous of revenging the affront that, in their opinion, their whole order had received by LUTHER's treatment of their brother TETZEL and their patron CAJETAN, seconded the furious efforts of ECKIUS against the Saxon reformer, and used their utmost endeavours to have his request granted. The pontiff, overcome by the importunity of these pernicious counsellors, imprudently issued [n] out a bull against

[n] The wisest and best part of the Roman-catholics acknowledge, that LEO X was chargeable with the most culpable imprudence in this rash and violent method of proceeding. See a Dissertation of the learned JOHN FREDERICK MAYER, *De Pontificiis Leonis X processum adversus Lutherum improbantibus*, which is part of a work he published at Hamburg in 4to, in the year 1698, under this singular title: *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutheranae patrona et cliens*. There were several wise and thinking persons at this time about the Roman pontiff, who declared openly, without the least ceremony, their disapprobation of the violent counsels of ECKIUS and the Dominicans; and gave it as their opinion, that it was both prudent and just to wait for the issue of the conferences of MILTITZ with LUTHER, before such forcible measures were employed.

LUTHER,

LUTHER, dated the 15th of June, 1520, in which forty-
 one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were
 solemnly condemned, his writings ordered to be publicly
 burnt, and in which he was again summoned, on pain
 of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended
 errors within the space of sixty days, and to cast himself
 upon the clemency and mercy of the pontiff.

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XIV. As soon as the account of this rash sentence, pronounced from the papal chair, was brought to LUTHER, he thought it was high time to consult both his present defence and his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose, was the renewal of his appeal from the sentence of the Roman pontiff, to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that this appeal would be treated with contempt at the court of *Rome*, and that, when the time prescribed for his recantation was elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be levelled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of *Rome*, before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render this new bull of ejection a blow in the air, an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time, he was resolved to execute this wise resolution in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and superstitious church might be universally known before the lordly pontiff had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th of December, in the year 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city [o], and there, in presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the *bull* that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world, that he was no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff; and that, of consequence, the sentence of excommunication against him, which was daily expected from *Rome*, was entirely superfluous and insignificant. For the man who publicly commits to the flames the *code* that contains the laws of his sovereign, shews thereby that he has no longer any respect for his govern-

Luther
 withdraws
 himself
 from the
 communion
 of the
 church of
 Rome.

[o] Of *Wittenberg*.

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ment, nor any design to submit to his authority; and the man who voluntarily withdraws himself from any society, cannot, with any appearance of reason, or common sense, be afterwards forcibly and authoritatively excluded from it. It is not improbable, that LUTHER was directed, in this critical measure, by persons well skilled in the law, who are generally dexterous in furnishing a perplexed client with nice distinctions and plausible evasions. Be that as it may, he separated himself only from the church of *Rome*, which considers the pope as infallible, and not from the church, considered in a more extensive sense; for he submitted to the decision of the universal church, when that decision should be given in a general council lawfully assembled. When this judicious distinction is considered, it will not appear at all surprising, that many, even of the Roman catholics, who weighed matters with a certain degree of impartiality and wisdom, and were zealous for the maintenance of the liberties of *Germany*, justified this bold resolution of LUTHER [o]. In less than a month after this noble and important step had been taken by the Saxon reformer, a second *bull* was issued out against him on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy, of the Roman pontiff [p].

The rise of
the Luther-
an church.

XV. Such iniquitous laws, enacted against the person and doctrine of LUTHER, produced an effect different from what was expected by the imperious pontiff. Instead of intimidating this bold reformer, they led him to form the project of founding a church upon principles

☞ [o] This judicious distinction has not been sufficiently attended to, and the Romanists, some through artifice, others through ignorance, have confounded the *papacy* with the *catholic church*; though they be, in reality, two different things. The papacy indeed, by the ambitious dexterity of the Roman pontiffs, incorporated itself by degrees into the church; but it was a preposterous supplement, and was really as foreign to its genuine constitution, as a new *citadel erected*, by a successful usurper, would be to an *ancient city*. LUTHER set out and acted upon this distinction; he went out of the *citadel*, but he meant to remain in the *city*, and, like a good patriot, designed to reform its corrupted government.

[p] Both these *bulls* are to be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, and also in the learned PRAFF's *Hist. Theol. Literar.* tom. ii. p. 42.

entirely

entirely opposite to those of *Rome*, and to establish, in it, a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, agreeable to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel of truth. This, indeed, was the only resource LUTHER had left him; for to submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of imprudence imaginable, and to embrace, anew, errors that he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle, worthy only of the most abandoned profligate. From this time, therefore, he applied himself to the pursuit of the truth with still more assiduity and fervour than he had formerly done; nor did he only review with attention, and confirm by new arguments, what he had hitherto taught, but went much beyond it, and made vigorous attacks upon the main strong-hold of popery, the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which he overturned from its very foundation. In this noble undertaking he was seconded by many learned and pious men in various parts of *Europe*, by those of the professors of the academy of *Wittenberg*, who had adopted his principles, and in a more especial manner by the celebrated MELANCTHON. And as the fame of LUTHER's wisdom and MELANCTHON's learning had filled that academy with an incredible number of students, who flocked to it from all parts, this happy circumstance propagated the principles of the Reformation with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of *Europe* [q].

XVI. Not long after the commencement of these divisions, MAXIMILIAN I had departed this life, and his grandson CHARLES V, king of *Spain*, had succeeded him in the empire in the year 1519. LEO X seized this new occasion of venting and executing his vengeance, by putting the new emperor in mind of his character as *advocate and defender of the church*, and demanding the exemplary punishment of LUTHER, who had rebelled against its sacred laws and institutions. On the other hand, FREDERICK the *Wise* employed his credit with CHARLES to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this

A diet assembled at Worms in 1521.

[q] There is a particular account of the rapid progress of the reformation in *Germany* given by the learned M. DANIEL GERDES, professor at *Groningen*, in his *Historia renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii.

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reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted, that CHARLES was under much greater obligations to FREDERICK, than to any other of the German princes, as it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire, in opposition to the pretensions of such a formidable rival as FRANCIS I, king of *France*. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was entirely disposed to satisfy his demands. That, however, he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontiff, he resolved that LUTHER should be called before the council, that was to be assembled at *Worms* in the year 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. It may perhaps appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public diet. But it must be considered, that these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and even certain abbots, had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for *Germany*, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of LUTHER properly belonged.

The result
of this diet
Luther's
banishment.

XVII. LUTHER, therefore, appeared at *Worms*, secured against the violence of his enemies by a safe-conduct from the emperor, and, on the 17th of April, and the day following, pleaded his cause before that grand assembly with the utmost resolution and presence of mind. The united power of threatenings and entreaties were employed, to conquer the firmness of his purpose, to engage him to renounce the propositions he had hitherto maintained, and to bend him to a submission to the Roman pontiff. But he refused all this with a noble obstinacy, and declared solemnly, that he would neither abandon his opinions, nor change his conduct, until he was previously convinced, by the word of God, or the dictates of right reason, that his opinions were erroneous, and his conduct unlawful. When therefore neither promises nor threatenings could shake the constancy of this magnanimous reformer, he obtained, indeed, from the emperor

peror the liberty of returning, unmolested, to his home; but after his departure from the diet, he was condemned by the unanimous suffrages both of the emperor and the princes, and was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire [r]. FREDERICK, who saw the storm rising against LUTHER, used the best precautions to secure him from its violence. For this purpose he sent three or four persons, in whom he could confide, to meet him on his return from the diet, in order to conduct him to a place of safety. These emissaries, disguised by masks, executed their commission with the utmost secrecy and success. Meeting with LUTHER, near *Eysenac*, they seized him,

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[r] This sentence, which was dated the 8th of May, 1521, was excessively severe; and CHARLES V, whether through sincere zeal or political cunning, shewed himself in this affair an ardent abettor of the papal authority. For in this edict the pope is declared the only true judge of the controversy, in which he was evidently the party concerned; LUTHER is declared a member cut off from the church, a schismatic, a notorious and obstinate heretic; the severest punishments are denounced against those, who shall receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation or writing; and all his disciples, adherents, and followers, are involved in the same condemnation. This edict was, however, received with the highest disapprobation by all wise and thinking persons, 1st, because LUTHER had been condemned without being heard, at Rome by the college of cardinals, and afterwards at *Worms*, where, without either examining or refuting his doctrine, he was only despotically ordered to abandon and renounce it; 2^{dly}, because CHARLES V, as emperor, had not a right to give an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of LUTHER, nor to take for granted the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, before these matters were discussed and decided by a general council; and 3^{dly}, because a considerable number of the German princes, who were immediately interested in this affair, such as the electors of *Cologne*, *Saxony*, and the *Palatinate*, and other sovereign princes, had neither been present at the diet, nor examined and approved the edict; and that therefore, at best, it could only have force in the territories belonging to the house of *Austria*, and to such of the princes as had given their consent to its publication. But after all, the edict of *Worms* produced almost no effect, not only for the reasons now mentioned, but also because CHARLES V, whose presence, authority, and zeal, were necessary to render it respectable, was involved in other affairs of a civil nature, which he had more at heart. Obligated to pass successively into *Flanders*, *England*, and *Spain*, to quell the seditions of his subjects, and to form new alliances against his great enemy and rival FRANCIS I, he lost sight of the edict of *Worms*, while all who had any regard to the liberties of the empire and the rights of the Germanic church treated this edict with the highest indignation, or the utmost contempt.

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and carried him into the castle of *Wartenburg*, nor, as some have imagined upon probable grounds, was this done without the knowledge of his Imperial majesty. In this retreat, which he called his *Patmos*, the Saxon reformer lay concealed during the space of ten months, and employed this involuntary leisure in compositions that were afterwards useful to the world [s].

[s] This precaution of the humane and excellent elector, being put in execution the 3d of May, five days before the solemn publication of the edict of *Worms*, the pope missed his blow; and the adversaries of LUTHER became doubly odious to the people in *Germany*, who, unacquainted with the scheme of FREDERICK, and, not knowing what was become of their favorite reformer, imagined he was imprisoned, or perhaps destroyed, by the emissaries of *Rome*. In the mean time, LUTHER lived in peace and quiet in the castle of *Wartenburg*, where he translated a great part of the *New Testament* into the German language, and wrote frequent letters to his trusty friends and intimates to comfort them under his absence. Nor was his confinement here inconsistent with amusement and relaxation; for he enjoyed frequently the pleasure of hunting in company with his keepers, passing for a country gentleman, under the name of *Tonker George*.

If we cast an eye upon the conduct of LUTHER, in this first scene of his trials, we shall find a true spirit of rational zeal, generous probity, and Christian fortitude, animating this reformer. In his behaviour, before and at the diet of *Worms*, we observe these qualities shine with a peculiar lustre, and tempered, notwithstanding LUTHER's warm complexion, with an unexpected degree of moderation and decent respect both for his civil and ecclesiastical superiors. When some of his friends, informed of the violent designs of the Roman court, and alarmed by the bull that had been published against him by the rash pontiff, advised him not to expose his person at the diet of *Worms*, notwithstanding the imperial safe-conduct (which, in a similar case, had not been sufficient to protect JOHN HUSS and JEROME of *Prague* from the perfidy and cruelty of their enemies), he answered with his usual intrepidity, that were he obliged to encounter at *Worms* as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there; that fear, in his case, could be only a suggestion of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, and who was willing to avoid a public defeat before such a grand assembly as the diet of *Worms*. The fire and obstinacy that appeared in this answer seemed to prognosticate much warmth and vehemence in LUTHER's conduct at the assembly before which he was going to appear. But it was quite otherwise. He exposed with decency and dignity the superstitious doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, and the grievances that arose from the overgrown power of its pontiff, and the abuse that was made of it. He acknowledged the writings with which he was charged, and offered, both with moderation and humility, to

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XVIII. The active spirit of LUTHER could not, however, long bear this confinement; he therefore left his *Patmos* in the month of March, of the year 1522, without the consent, or even the knowledge, of his patron and protector FREDERICK, and repaired to *Wittenberg*. One of the principal motives that engaged him to take this bold step, was the information he had received of the inconsiderate conduct of CARLOSTADT, and some other friends of the Reformation, who had already excited tumults in *Saxony*, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the tranquillity of the state and the true interests of the church. CARLOSTADT, professor at *Wittenberg*, was a man of considerable learning, who had pierced the veil, with which papal artifice and superstition had covered the truth, and at the instigation of ECKIUS; had been excluded with LUTHER from the communion of the church. His zeal, however, was intemperate; his plans laid with temerity, and executed without moderation. During LUTHER's absence, he threw down and broke the images of the saints that were placed in the churches, and instead of restraining the vehemence of a fanatical multitude, who had already begun in some places to abuse the precious liberty that was dawning upon them, he encouraged their ill-timed violence, and led them on to sedition and mutiny. LUTHER opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent reformer with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents first to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places, since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course [1], and since the destruction of the latter

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of Luther
after his
leaving the
castle of
Wartenburg.

defend their contents. He desired the pope's legates and their adherents to hear him, to inform him, to reason with him; and solemnly offered, in presence of the assembled princes and bishops, to renounce his doctrines, if they were shewn to be erroneous. But to all these expostulations he received no other answer, than the despotic dictates of mere authority, attended with injurious and provoking language.

☞ [1] Dr. MOSHEIM's account of this matter is perhaps more advantageous to LUTHER than the rigorous demands of historical impartiality will admit of; the defects at least of the great reformer are here shaded with art. It is evident from several passages in the writings of LUTHER, that he was by no means averse to the use of images, but that, on the contrary, he

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alone could be attended with no lasting fruits. To these prudent admonitions this excellent reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself, with redoubled industry and zeal, to his German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success [u], with the assistance of some learned and pious men, whom he consulted in this great and important undertaking. The event abundantly shewed the wisdom of LUTHER's advice. For the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.

Leo X succeeded by
Adrian VI,
in the year
1522.
Diet of Nuremberg.

XIX. While these things were transacting, LEO X departed this life, and was succeeded in the pontificate by ADRIAN VI, a native of *Utrecht*. This pope, who had formerly been preceptor to CHARLES V, and who owed his new dignity to the good offices of that prince, was a man of probity and candor, who acknowledged ingenuously that the church laboured under the most fatal disorders, and declared his willingness to apply the remedies that should be judged the most adapted to heal

he looked upon them as adapted to excite and animate the devotion of the people. But perhaps the true reason of LUTHER's displeasure at the proceedings of CARLOSTADT, was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had laid, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only, conductor of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. LUTHER himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition; and it appears evidently in several of his letters. On the other hand, it must be owned, that CARLOSTADT was rash, violent, and prone to enthusiasm, as appears by the connexions he formed afterwards with the fanatical anabaptists, headed by MUNZER. His contests with LUTHER about the eucharist, in which he manifestly maintained the truth, shall be mentioned in their proper place.

[u] Of this German translation of the Bible, which contributed more than all other causes, taken together, to strengthen the foundations of the Lutheran church, we have an interesting history composed by JO. FRID. MAYER, and published in 4to at *Hamburg*, in the year 1701. A more ample one, however, was expected from the labours of the learned J. MELCHIOR KRAFT, but his death has disappointed our hopes. See JO. ALB. FABRICII *Centifolium Lutheran.* par. I. p. 147. & par. II. p. 617.

them.

them [w]. He began his pontificate by sending a legate C E N T.
to the diet, which was assembled at *Nuremberg* in 1522. XVI.
FRANCIS CHEREGATO, the person who was intrusted S E C T. I.
with this commission, had positive orders to demand the
speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence that had
been pronounced against LUTHER and his followers at
the diet of *Worms*, but, at the same time, he was autho-
rised to declare that the pontiff was ready to remove the
abuses and grievances that had armed such a formidable
enemy against the see of *Rome*. The princes of the em-
pire, encouraged by this declaration on the one hand, and
by the absence of the emperor, who, at this time, resided
in *Spain*, on the other, seized this opportunity of pro-
posing the summoning a general council in *Germany*, in
order to deliberate upon the proper methods of bringing
about an universal reformation of the church. They
exhibited, at the same time, an hundred articles, con-
taining the heaviest complaints of the injurious treatment
the Germans had hitherto received from the court of
Rome, and, by a public law, prohibited all innovation in
religious matters, until a general council should decide
what was to be done in an affair of such high moment
and importance [x]. As long as the German princes
were unacquainted with, or inattentive to, the measures
that were taken in *Saxony* for founding a new church in
direct opposition to that of *Rome*, they were zealously
unanimous in their endeavours to set bounds to the papal
authority and jurisdiction, which they all looked upon as
overgrown and enormous; nor were they at all offended
at LUTHER's contest with the Roman pontiff, which
they considered as a dispute of a private and personal
nature.

XX. The good pope ADRIAN did not long enjoy Clement
the pleasure of sitting at the head of the church. He VII elected
died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by CLE- pope in the
MENT VII, a man of a reserved character, and prone year 1524.

[w] See CASPAR. BURMANNI *Adrianus VI, sive Analecta Historica de Adriano VI Papa Romano*, published at *Utrecht* in 4to, in the year 1727.

[x] See JAC. FRID. GEORGII *Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedem Romanam*, lib. ii. p. 327.

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to artifice [y]. This pontiff sent to the imperial diet at Nuremberg, in the year 1524, a cardinal-legate, named CAMPEGIUS, whose orders, with respect to the affairs of LUTHER, breathed nothing but severity and violence, and who inveighed against the lenity of the German princes in delaying the execution of the decree of *Worms*, while he carefully avoided the smallest mention of the promise ADRIAN had made to reform the corruptions of a superstitious church. The emperor seconded the demands of CAMPEGIUS by the orders he sent to his minister to insist upon the execution of the sentence which had been pronounced against LUTHER and his adherents at the diet of *Worms*. The princes of the empire, tired out by these importunities and remonstrances, changed in appearance the law they had passed, but confirmed it in reality. For while they promised to observe, as far as was possible, the edict of *Worms*, they, at the same time, renewed their demands of a general council, and left all other matters in dispute to be examined and decided at the diet that was soon to be assembled at *Spire*. The pope's legate, on the other hand, perceiving by these proceedings, that the German princes in general were no enemies to the Reformation, retired to *Ratisbon* with the bishops and those of the princes that adhered to the cause of *Rome*, and there drew from them a new declaration, by which they engaged themselves to execute rigorously the edict of *Worms* in their respective dominions.

Carlostadt
and Zuin-
gle.

XXI. While the efforts of LUTHER towards the reformation of the church were daily crowned with growing success, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign, and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident, was a controversy concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the Roman pontiff had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. LUTHER and

[y] See JAC. ZIEGLERI *Historia Clementis VII*, in JO. GEORGII SCHELNORNII *Amœnitates Histor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 210.

his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of *Rome* with respect to the *transubstantiation*, or change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of CHRIST, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord's supper received, along with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgment, was a mystery, which they did not pretend to explain [z]. CARLOSTADT, who was LUTHER's colleague, understood the matter quite otherwise, and his doctrine, which was afterwards illustrated and confirmed by ZUINGLE with much more ingenuity than he had proposed it, amounted to this: "That the body and blood of Christ were not *really* present in the eucharist; and that the bread and wine were no more than external *signs*, or *symbols*, designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the divine Saviour, and of the benefits which arise from it [a]." This opinion was embraced by all the friends of the Reformation in *Switzerland*, and by a considerable number of its votaries in *Germany*. On the other hand, LUTHER maintained his doctrine, in relation to this point, with the utmost obstinacy; and hence arose, in the year 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated, at length, in a fatal division

✎ [z] LUTHER was not so modest as Dr. MOSHEIM here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the *real presence*, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. As in a red-hot iron, *said he*, two distinct substances, *viz.* iron and fire, are united, so is the body of CHRIST joined with the bread in the eucharist. I mention this miserable comparison to shew into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius.

[a] See VAL. ERN. LOSCHERI *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, par. I. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 55.—See also, on the other side of the question, SCULTET's *Annales Evangelii*, published by VON DER HART, in his *Historia Liter. Reformat.* p. 74.—RUP. HOSPINIANUS, and other reformed writers, who have treated of the origin and progress of this dispute.

✎ It appears from this representation (which is a just one) of the sentiments of ZUINGLE concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's supper, that they were the same with those maintained by Bishop HOADLEY, in his *Plain Account of the Nature and Design of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*.

between

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The war of
the Pea-
sants.

between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

XXII. To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effect of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other; and, by its unhappy consequences, was prejudicial to the cause and progress of the Reformation. In the year 1525, a prodigious multitude of seditious fanatics arose like a whirlwind, all of a sudden, in different parts of *Germany*, took arms, united their forces, waged war against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and exhibited daily the most horrid spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burthens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs; and hence this sedition was called the *Rustic war*, or the war of the Peasants [*b*]. But it is also certain, that this motley crowd was intermixed with numbers, who joined in this sedition from different motives, some impelled by the suggestions of enthusiasm, and others by the profligate and odious view of rapine and plunder, of mending fortunes ruined by extravagant and dissolute living. At the first breaking out of this war, it seemed to have been kindled only by civil and political views; and agreeable to this is the general tenor of the *Declarations* and *Manifestoes* that were published by these rioters. The claims they made in these papers related to nothing farther than the diminution of the tasks imposed upon the Peasants, and to their obtaining a greater measure of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. Religion seemed to be out of the question; at least, it was not the object of

[*b*] These kinds of wars, or commotions, arising from the impatience of the Peasants, under the heavy burthens that were laid on them, were very common long before the time of LUTHER. Hence the author of the *Danish Chronicle* (published by the learned LUDWIG, in the ninth volume of his *Reliq. MStorum*, p. 59.) calls these insurrections a *common evil*. This will not appear surprising to such as consider, that in most places the condition of the peasants was much more intolerable and grievous before the reformation, than it is in our times; and that the tyranny and cruelty of the nobility, before that happy period, were excessive and insupportable.

deliberation or debate. But no sooner had the enthusiast C E N T.
MUNZER [c] put himself at the head of this outrageous XVI.
rabble, than the face of things changed entirely, and by S E C T. I.
the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in *Saxony* and *Thuringia* were soon directed towards a new object, and were turned into a religious war. The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government: another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to a diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burthens under which they groaned [d]; another, insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and, to add weight to this demand, pretended, that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong, without reflexion or foresight, into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of LUTHER concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose only from the manifest abuse of it. LUTHER, himself, has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And, accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated,

[c] OF MUNSTER, as some call him.

[d] These burthens were the duties of vassalage or feudal services, which, in many respects, were truly grievous.

and

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Frederic the
Wife dies,
and is suc-
ceeded by
John, 1525
—1527.

and destroyed in a pitched battle fought at *Mulhausen*, and MUNZER, their ringleader, taken, and put to death [*e*].

XXIII. While this fanatical insurrection raged in *Germany*, FREDERICK the *Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, departed this life. This excellent prince, whose character was distinguished by an uncommon degree of prudence and moderation, had, during his life, been a sort of a mediator between the Roman pontiff and the reformer of *Wittemberg*, and had always entertained the pleasing hope of restoring peace in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion. Hence it was, that while, on the one hand, he made no opposition to LUTHER's design of reforming a corrupt and superstitious church, but rather encouraged him in the execution of this pious purpose; yet, on the other, it is remarkable, that he was at no pains to introduce any change into the churches that were established in his own dominions, nor to subject them to his jurisdiction. The elector JOHN, his brother and successor, acted in a quite different manner. Convinced of the truth of LUTHER's doctrine, and persuaded that it must lose ground and be soon suppressed if the despotic authority of the Roman pontiff remained undisputed and entire, he, without hesitation or delay, assumed to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters that is the natural right of every lawful sovereign, and founded and established a church in his dominions, totally different from the church of *Rome* in doctrine, discipline, and government. To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as was possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by LUTHER and MELANCTHON, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions in the year 1527. He also took care that the churches should every where be supplied with pious and learned doctors,

[*e*] PETRI GNODALII *Historia de Seditione repentina Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum*, A. 1525, tempore verno per universam fere Germaniam exorta, Basil. 1570, in 8vo.—See also B. TENZELII *Histor. Reform.* tom. ii, p. 331.

and that such of the clergy as dishonoured religion by their bad morals, or were incapable of promoting its influence by their want of talents, should be removed from the sacred functions. The illustrious example of this elector was followed by all the princes and states of *Germany*, who renounced the papal supremacy and jurisdiction, and a like form of worship, discipline, and government was thus introduced into all the churches, which dissented from that of *Rome*. Thus may the elector JOHN be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, which he alone rendered a complete and independent body, distinct from the superstitious church of *Rome*, and fenced about with salutary laws, with a wise and well-balanced constitution of government. But as the best blessings may, through the influence of human corruption, become the innocent occasions of great inconveniencies, such particularly was the fate of those wise and vigorous measures which this elector took for the reformation of the church; for from that time, the religious differences between the German princes, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of moderation, broke out into a violent and lasting flame. The prudence, or rather timorousness, of FREDERICK *the Wise*, who avoided every resolute measure that might be adapted to kindle the fire of discord, had preserved a sort of an external union and concord among these princes, notwithstanding their difference in opinion. But as soon as his successor, by the open and undisguised steps he took, made it glaringly evident, that he designed to withdraw the churches in his dominions from the jurisdiction of *Rome*, and to reform the doctrine, discipline, and worship that had been hitherto established, then indeed the scene changed. The union, which was more specious than solid, and which was far from being well cemented, was dissolved of a sudden, the spirits heated and divided, and an open rupture formed between the German princes, of whom one party embraced the Reformation, and the other adhered to the superstitions of their forefathers.

XXIV. Things being reduced to this violent and troubled state, the patrons of popery gave intimations, that were far from being ambiguous, of their intention

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The diet of
Spire in
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to make war upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by force a doctrine which they were incapable of overturning by argument; and this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of Europe disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, on the other hand, informed of these hostile intentions, began also to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy that might answer this prudent purpose. In the mean time the diet assembled at *Spire*, in the year 1526, at which FERDINAND, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a manner more favourable to the friends of the Reformation, than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced at *Worms* against LUTHER and his followers. The greatest part of the German princes opposed this motion with the utmost resolution, declaring, that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council lawfully assembled; alledging farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and, at length, consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and a general council; and it was also agreed, that, in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient; yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration, when it should be demanded of them.

The progress of the reformation after the diet at *Spire*, in 1527.

XXV. Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor

peror was, at this time, so entirely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which exhibited, from day to day, new scenes of perplexity, that, for some years, it was not in his power to turn his attention to the affairs of *Germany* in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which was beset with difficulties, that, to a political prince like CHARLES, must have appeared peculiarly critical and dangerous. Besides, had the emperor really been possessed of leisure to form, or of power to execute, a plan that might terminate, in favour of the Roman pontiff, the religious disputes which reigned in *Germany*, it is evident that the inclination was wanting, and that CLEMENT VII, who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of CHARLES V. For this pontiff, after the defeat of FRANCIS I, at the battle of *Pavia*, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in *Italy*, entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against that prince. And this measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of CHARLES to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in *Italy*, laid siege to *Rome* in the year 1527, blocked up CLEMENT in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of *Spire*, were prudently and industriously improved, by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of *Rome*, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in *Saxony*. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the

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church of *Rome*. And in general, all the Germans, who, before these *resolutions* of the diet of *Spire*, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the mean time, LUTHER and his fellow-labourers, particularly those who were with him at *Wittenberg*, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

Another
diet held at
Spire, in the
year 1529.
Origin of
the denomi-
nation of
protestants.

XXVI. But the tranquillity and liberty they enjoyed, in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first diet of *Spire*, were not of a long duration. They were interrupted by a new diet assembled, in the year 1529, in the same place by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of *Europe*, and concluded a treaty of peace with CLEMENT VII. This prince, having now got rid of the burthen that had, for some time, overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct the affairs of the church; and this the reformers soon felt, by a disagreeable experience. For the power which had been granted by the former diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical matters as they thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes; and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship, of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known [*f*]. This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the other members of the diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor was any of them

 [*f*] The resolution of the first diet of *Spire*, which had been taken unanimously, was revoked in the second, and another substituted in its place by a plurality of voices, which, as several of the princes then present, observed, could not give to any decree the force of a law throughout the empire.

so simple, or so little acquainted with the politics of C E N T. XVI. S E C T. I.
Rome, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light, than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of *Rome*, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon *Ferdinand* [g], nor upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions (whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations) they entered a solemn *protest* against this decree on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council [h]. Hence arose the denomination of *Protestants*, which from this period has been given to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the church of *Rome*.

XXVII. The dissenting princes, who were the protectors and heads of the reformed churches, had no sooner entered their *protest*, than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from *Spain* to *Italy*, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers, employed in this commission, executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes, whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain. The emperor, whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons that dared to oppose his designs, ordered these ambassadors to be apprehended and put under arrest during several days. The news of this violent step was

Leagues
formed be-
tween the
protestants,

[g] The emperor was at *Barcelona*, while this diet was held at *Spire*; so that his brother *Ferdinand* was president in his place.

[h] The princes of the empire, who entered this protest, and are consequently to be considered as the first protestant princes, were *John* elector of *Saxony*, *George* elector of *Brandenburg*, for *Franconia*, *Ernest* and *Francis* dukes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the prince of *Anhalt*. These princes were seconded by thirteen imperial towns, viz. *Strasbourg*, *Ulm*, *Nuremberg*, *Constance*, *Rottingen*, *Windheim*, *Memmingen*, *Nortlingen*, *Lindau*, *Kempten*, *Heilbron*, *Wisssemburg*, and *St. Gall*.

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soon brought to the protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety, and the success of their cause, depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented by a solemn confederacy. They, therefore, held several meetings at *Rot*, *Nuremberg*, *Smalcald*, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies [i]. But so different were their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

The conference at
Marpurg, in
the year
1529.

XXVIII. Among the incidents that promoted animosity and discord between the friends of the Reformation, and prevented that union that was so much to be desired between persons embarked in the same good cause, the principal one was the dispute that had arisen between the divines of *Saxony* and *Switzerland*, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the *eucharist*. To terminate this controversy, PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, invited, in the year 1529, to a conference at *Marpurg*, LUTHER and ZUINGLE, together with some of the more eminent doctors, who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs. This expedient, which was designed by that truly *Magnanimous* prince, not so much to end the matter by keen debate, as to accommodate differences by the reconciling spirit of charity and prudence, was not attended with the salutary fruits that were expected from it. The divines that were assembled for this pacific purpose disputed, during four days, in presence of the landgrave. The principal champions in these debates were LUTHER, who attacked OECOLAMPADIUS, and MELANCTHON, who disputed against ZUINGLE; and the controversy turned upon several points of theology, in relation to which the Swiss doctors were supposed to entertain erroneous sentiments. For ZUINGLE was accused of heresy, not only on account of his explication of the nature and design of the Lord's Supper,

[i] See the history of the confession of *Augsburg*, wrote in German by the learned CHRIST. AUG. SALIG. tom. i. book II. ch. i. p. 128. and more especially another German work of Dr. JOACHIM MULLER, entituled, *Historie von der Evangelischen Stande Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichsabscheid von 1529, Appellation, &c.* published at *Jena* in 4to, in the year 1703.

but

but also in consequence of the false notions he was supposed to have adopted, relating to the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious reformer cleared himself, however, from the greatest part of these accusations, with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared entirely satisfactory, even to LUTHER himself. Their dissension concerning the manner of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify, their opinion of that matter [k]. The only advantage, therefore, that resulted from this conference, was, that the jarring doctors formed a sort of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their respective sentiments, and leaving to the disposal of providence and the effects of time, which sometimes cools the rage of party, the cure of their divisions.

XXIX. The ministers of the churches, which had embraced the sentiments of LUTHER, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when an account was received of a design formed by that prince to come into *Germany*, with a view to terminate, in the approaching diet at *Augsburg*, the religious disputes that had produced such animosities and divisions in the empire. CHARLES, though long absent from *Germany*, and engaged in affairs that left him little leisure for theological disquisitions, was nevertheless attentive to these disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had also, to his own deliberate reflexions upon these disputes, added the counsels of men of wisdom, sagacity, and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings, and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties and of the merits of the cause. He therefore, in an interview with the pope at *Bologna*,

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The diet of
Augsburg.

[k] VAL. ERN. LOESCHER *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143.—HENR. BULLINGER *Historia Colloquii Marpurgenfis*, in JO. CONR. FUESSLIN's compilation, intitled, *Beytragen zur Schweizer Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. iii. p. 156. See also the *Preface*, p. 80.—ABR. SCULTETI *Annal. Reformat. ad A. 1529*.—RUDOLPH. HOSPINIANI *Histor. Sacramentar.* par. II, p. 72, &c.

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insisted, in the most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move CLEMENT VII, who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives, reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency, and alledged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate *heretical* faction, who dared to call in question the authority of *Rome* and its pontiff. The emperor was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn unheard, and to destroy, without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had deserved well of their country in several respects. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since there was no regular system as yet composed, of the doctrines embraced by LUTHER and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontiff, might be known with certainty. As, therefore, it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy, or decide with equity, a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of *Rome* and the friends of the Reformation, the elector of *Saxony* ordered LUTHER, and other eminent divines, to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of *Rome*. LUTHER, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector, at *Torgaw*, the seventeen articles, which had been drawn up and agreed on in the conference at *Sulzbach* in the year 1529; and hence they were called the *articles of Torgaw* [1]. Though these articles were deemed by LUTHER a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the reformers, yet it was judged proper to en-

[1] See CHR. AUG. HEUMANNI *Diff. de lenitate Augustanæ Confess. in Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar.* tom. i. p. 14.—JO. JOACH. MULLER *Historia Protestationis*; and the other writers, who have treated either of the Reformation in general, or of the confession of *Augsburg* in particular.

large them; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to their arguments, and thereby strength to their cause. It was this consideration that engaged the protestant princes, assembled at *Coburg* and *Augsburg*, to employ MELANCTHON in extending these *Articles*, in which important work he shewed a due regard to the counsels of LUTHER, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view the famous *confession of Augsburg*, which did such honour to the acute judgment and the eloquent pen of MELANCTHON.

XXX. During these transactions in *Germany*, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the reformation spread itself far and wide; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of *Europe* had already broke their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of *Rome* and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. And thus it appears that CLEMENT VII was not impelled by a false alarm to demand of the emperor the speedy extirpation of the reformers, since he had the justest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his ghostly empire. The reformed religion was propagated in *Sweden*, soon after LUTHER's rupture with *Rome*, by one of his disciples, whose name was OLAUS PETRI, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited prince, GUSTAVUS VASA ERICSON, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne in the place of CHRISTIERN, king of *Denmark*, whose horrid barbarity lost him the scepter that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper, now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement, and taken refuge at *Lubec*, he was there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of LUTHER, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the

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The progress of the reformation in Sweden, about the year 1530.

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Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions recommended by custom, and the doctrine of LUTHER, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, GUSTAVUS wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the Reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence [m]. Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible that had been made by OLAUS PETRI [n]. Some time after this, in the year 1526, he appointed a conference, at *Upsal*, between this eminent reformer and PETER GALLIUS, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. The dispute, in which OLAUS obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm GUSTAVUS in his persuasion of the truth of

☞ [m] This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once, while he was absent from *Stockholm*, a great number of German anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of *Munzer*, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other ornaments of the churches, while the *Lutherans* dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But GUSTAVUS no sooner returned to *Stockholm*, than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the *Lutherans* with bitter reproaches for not having opposed these fanatics in time.

☞ [n] It is very remarkable, and shews the equity and candour of GUSTAVUS in the most striking point of light, that while he ordered OLAUS to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, he gave permission at the same time to the archbishop of *Upsal*, to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of *Rome*; that by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. The bishops at first opposed this order, but were at length obliged to submit.

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LUTHER's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in *Sweden*. In the year following, another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success, and this was the assembly of the states at *Westeraas*, where GUSTAVUS recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops in particular, it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by LUTHER should have free admittance among the Swedes [o]. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of GUSTAVUS, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his scepter and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch [p]. From this time the papal empire in *Sweden* was entirely overturned, and GUSTAVUS declared head of the church.

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[o] It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of GUSTAVUS, since there was no country in *Europe*, where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in *Sweden* and *Denmark*. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent on the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the state. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want.—The resolution formed by the states, assembled at *Westeraas*, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine as to reform the discipline of the church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was however resolved at the same time, that the church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the Reformation.

[p] BAZII *Inventarium Eccles. Sueco-Gothor.* published in 4to at *Lincoping*, in 1642.—SCULTETI *Annales Evangelii Renovati*, in VON DER HAUT *Hist. Liter. Reformat.* part V. p. 84 et 110.—RAYNAL, *Anecdotes Hist. Politiques et Militaires*, tom. i. part II. p. 1, &c.

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In Denmark.

XXXI. The light of the Reformation was also received in *Denmark*, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by CHRISTIAN or CHRISTIERN II, of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of LUTHER. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty (whether it was the effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition and tyranny of *Rome*. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for MARTIN REINARD, one of the disciples of CARLOSTADT, out of *Saxony*, and appointed him professor of divinity at *Hafnia*; and after his death, which happened the year following, he invited CARLOSTADT himself to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in *Denmark*, returned into *Germany*. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to engage LUTHER to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and, indeed, to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff. It is, however, proper to observe, that in all these proceedings CHRISTIERN II was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigour to his reforming projects. His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently shew that he protected the religion of LUTHER with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy both in church and state; and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped [q], and of appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprize. The States of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the li-

[q] See JO. GRAMMII *Diff. de Reformatione Daniæ à Christierno tentata*, in the third volume of the *Scriptores Societ. Scientiar. Hafniens.* p. 1.—90.

berty of *Denmark*, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors [r], and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle, FREDERIC duke of *Holstein* and *Sleswic*, placed on the throne of *Denmark*.

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XXXII. This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation, than his predecessor had done. He permitted the protestant doctors to preach publicly the opinions of LUTHER [s], but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the Reformation, by his successful attempts, in favour of religious liberty, at the assembly of the states that was held at *Odense* in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of *Denmark* free, either to adhere to the tenets of the church of *Rome*, or to embrace the doctrine of LUTHER [t]. Encouraged by this resolution, the protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success, that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the church of *Rome*. But the honour of

The progress of the Reformation under the reigns of Frederic and Christiern III.

[r] See for a confirmation of this part of the accusation, a curious piece, containing the reasons that induced the states of *Denmark* to renounce their allegiance to CHRISTIERN II. This piece is to be found in the fifth volume of LUDEWIG's compilation, entitled, *Reliquiæ MStorum*, p. 515. in which (p. 321.) the states of *Denmark* express their displeasure at the royal favour shewn to the Lutherans, in the following terms: *Lutheranæ hæresis pullulatores, contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri atletam, enutrivit.*

[s] See Jo. MOLLERI *Cimbria literata*, tom. ii. p. 886.—CARIST. OLIVARII *Vita Pauli Eliæ*, p. 108.—ERICI PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 139.

[t] It was farther added to this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion, that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclesiastics, of whatever rank or order, should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monasteries or other religious societies,

finishing

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finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for CHRISTIERN III, a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by BUGENHAGIUS, whom the king had sent for from *Wittemberg* to perform that arduous task, for which his eminent piety, learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the states at *Odensee*, in the year 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the Reformation was brought to perfection in *Denmark* [u].

A distinction to be observed when we speak of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark.

XXXIII. It is however to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and, on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds, without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received [w]. In the measures taken in these

[u] ERICI PONTOPPIDANI, see a German work of the learned PONTOPPIDAN, entitled, *A Compendious View of the History of the Reformation in Denmark*, published at *Lubec* in 8vo, in 1734; as also the *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, of the same author, tom. ii. p. 790. tom. iii. p. 1.—HENR. MUELIUS *de Reformat. religionis in vicinis Danicæ regionibus et potissimum in Cimbria*, in ejus *Dissertationibus Historico-Theologicis*, p. 24. *Killæ*, 1715, in 4to.

[w] This observation is not worthy of Dr. MOSHEIM's sagacity. The strong connexion that there naturally is between superstitious ignorance among the people, and influence and power in their spiritual rulers, is too evident to stand in need of any proof. A good clergy northern

northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt C E N T.
 doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing XVI.
 that deserved the smallest censure: neither fraud nor S E C T. I.
 violence were employed for this purpose; on the con-
 trary, all things were conducted with wisdom and mo-
 deration, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity
 and the spirit of Christianity. The same judgment can-
 not easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of
 proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more
 especially of the episcopal order. For here, certainly,
 violence was used, and the bishops were deprived of their
 honours, privileges, and possessions, without their con-
 sent; and, indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles
 and the warmest opposition [x]. The truth is, that so
 far as the reformation in *Sweden* and *Denmark* regarded
 the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather

will or ought to have an influence, in consequence of a respectable office
 adorned with learning, piety, and morals; but the power of a licentious
 and despotic clergy can be only supported by the blind and superstitious credu-
 lity of their flock.

☞ [x] What does Dr. MOSHEIM mean here? did ever a usurper give up
 his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right, when
 it is maintained by force? is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners?
 The question here is, whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment
 they received from CHRISTIERN III; and our author seems to answer this
 question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and neces-
 sary in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops
 were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on ac-
 count of their resistance; all the church lands, towns, and fortresses annexed
 to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever abolished. It
 is also certain, that LUTHER himself looked upon these measures as violent
 and excessive, and even wrote a letter to CHRISTIERN, exhorting him to
 use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with mode-
 ration on this subject, and to grant, that, if the insolence and licentiousness
 of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may
 have been excessive. Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as
 Dr. MOSHEIM seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was
 hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility ac-
 quired by this a prodigious degree of influence, and the crown lost an order,
 which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest
 supports of its prerogative. But disquisitions of this nature are foreign to our
 purpose. It is only proper to observe, that, in the room of the bishops,
 CHRISTIERN created an order of men, with the denomination of *superin-*
tendants, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without
 sharing the least shadow of temporal authority.

a matter

C E N T. XVI. S E C T. I. a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that, had LUTHER and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper; and, in effect, already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such therefore was the critical state of these northern kingdoms, in the time of LUTHER, that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonoured, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin.

The rise and
progress of
the reformation in
France :

XXXIV. The kingdom of *France* was not inaccessible to the light of the Reformation. MARGARET queen of *Navarre*, sister to FRANCIS I, the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of CHARLES V, was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had so long lain disguised. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with hers, to propagate the principles of the Reformation in *France*, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the doctrine and tyranny of *Rome*, and among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers

numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened, to support the doctrine of *Rome* by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet; and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity [y]. This cruelty, instead of retarding, accelerated rather the progress of the Reformation. It is nevertheless true, that, under the reign of FRANCIS I, the restorers of genuine Christianity were not always equally successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they seemed to enjoy the auspicious shade of royal protection; at others they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons, they were forgot, which oblivion rendered their condition tolerable. FRANCIS, who had either no religion at all, or, at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and a public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy CHARLES V, then did he treat the protestants in *France* with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he threw off the mask, and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable and persecuting tyrant [z].

[y] See BEZE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5 — BENOIT, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, livr. i. p. 6 — CHRIST. AUG. SALIG. *Histor. August. Confession*. vol. ii. p. 190.

[z] The inconsistency and contradiction that were visible in the conduct of FRANCIS I may be attributed to various reasons. At one time, we see him resolved to invite MELANCTHON into *France*, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of *Navarre*, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the protestants. At another time, we behold him exercising the most infernal cruelty towards the friends of the Reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, *that, if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained ten-*

About

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About this time the famous CALVIN, whose character, talents, and religious exploits, we shall have occasion to dwell upon more amply in the course of this history, began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of *Navarre*. He was born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, on the 10th of July, 1509, and was bred up to the law [*a*], in which, as well as in all the other branches of literature, then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid and amazing success. Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by a diligent perusal of the holy scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the connexions he had formed with the friends of the Reformation, whom FRANCIS I was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of *Navarre*. To escape the impending storm, he retired to *Basil*, where he published his *Christian institutions*; and prefixed to them that famous dedication to FRANCIS I, which has attracted universally the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince, against the protestants [*b*].

And in the
other states
of Europe.

XXXV. The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of *Rome* in the other European states, were few in number, before the diet of *Augsburg*, and

timents contrary to those of the catholic church. See FLOR. DE REMOND, Hist. de la Naissance et du Progres de l'Herese, livr. vii.

[*a*] He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice: but the light, that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference given by his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastic vocation, which he afterwards resumed in a purer church.

[*b*] This paragraph, relating to CALVIN, is added to Dr. MOSHEIM's text by the translator, who was surprized to find in a History of the Reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the reformers; all of whom he surpassed, at least, in learning and parts, as he also did the most of them, in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.

were

were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous to make much noise in the world. It, however, appears from the most authentic testimonies, that, even before that period, the doctrine of LUTHER had made a considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in *Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland,* and the *Netherlands*, and had, in all these countries, many friends, of whom several repaired to *Wittenberg*, to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves, in a public and constitutional manner, from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the blessed Reformation, rejected the doctrines and authority of *Rome*; and, notwithstanding the calamities and persecutions they have suffered, on account of their sentiments, under the scepter of bigotry and superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrine of Christianity; while in other, still more unhappy, lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds, have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth. It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority, would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument.

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C H A P. III.

The History of the Reformation, from the time that the confession of Augsburg was presented to the emperor, until the commencement of the war which succeeded the league of Smalcald.

I. CHARLES V arrived at *Augsburg* the 15th of June 1530, and, on the twentieth day of the same month, the diet was opened. As it was unanimously agreed, Charles V.

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presented to
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agreed, that the affairs of religion should be brought upon the carpet before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the *protestant* members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the diet, on the 25th of June, an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, CHRISTIAN BAYER, chancellor of *Saxony*, read, in the German language, in presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, the famous confession, which has been since distinguished by the denomination of the *confession of Augsburg*. The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind; it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprised others, and many, who, before this time, had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of LUTHER, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but were, moreover, delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this *confession*, which, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, were signed and subscribed by JOHN, elector of *Saxony*, by four princes of the empire, GEORGE, marquis of *Brandenburg*, ERNEST, duke of *Lunenbourg*, PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, WOLFGANG, prince of *Anhalt*, and by the imperial cities of *Nuremberg* and *Reutlingen*, who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it [c].

The nature
and contents
of the con-
fession of
Augsburg.

II. The tenor and contents of the confession of *Augsburg* are well known; at least, by all who have the smallest acquaintance with ecclesiastical history; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the *protestants* as the rule of their faith. The style that reigns in it is plain, elegant, grave, and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of ME-

[c] There is a very voluminous history of this diet, which was published in the year 1577, in *folio*, at *Frankfurt on Oder*, by the laborious GEORGE CELESTINE. The history of the *Confession of Augsburg* was composed, in Latin, by DAVID CHYTRÆUS, and more recently, in German, by ERN. SOLOM. CYPRIAN and CHRISTOPHER AUG. SALIG. The performance of the latter is rather, indeed, a history of the *Reformation* in general, than of the *Confession of Augsburg* in particular. That of CYPRIAN is more concise and elegant, and is confirmed by original pieces, which are equally authentic and curious.

LANCTHON.

LANCTHON. The matter was, undoubtedly, supplied by CEN T. LUTHER, who, during the diet, resided at *Coburg*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Augsburg*; and, even the form it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authoris'd in consequence of his approbation and advice. This *confession* contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part [d] are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of *Rome* [e].

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III. The creatures of the Roman pontiff, who were present at this diet, employed JOHN FABER, afterwards bishop of *Vienna*, together with ECKIUS and another doctor, named COCHLÆUS, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation having been read publicly in the assembly, the emperor demanded of the protestant members that they would acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand was far from being complied with. The protestants declared, on the contrary, that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was

The Roman
catholics at-
tempt a re-
futation of
the confes-
sion of
Augsburg.

[d] XXI chapters were so employed; the other VII contained a detail of the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*.

[e] It is proper to observe here, that, while the Lutherans presented their *Confession* to the diet, another excellent *Remonstrance* of the same nature was addressed to this august assembly by the cities of *Strasburg*, *Constance*, *Memingen*, and *Lindau*, which had rejected the errors and jurisdiction of *Rome*, but did not enter into the Lutheran league, because they adopted the opinions of ZUINGLE in relation to the eucharist. The declaration of these four towns (which was called the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, on account of their number) was drawn up by the excellent MARTIN BUCER, and was considered as a masterpiece of reasoning and eloquence, not only by the protestants, but even by several of the Roman-catholics; and among others by Mr. DUPIN. ZUINGLE also sent to this diet a private confession of his religious opinions. It is however remarkable, that though BUCER composed a separate *Remonstrance*, yet his name appears among the subscribers at *Smalcald*, in the year 1537, to the confession of *Augsburg*, and to MELANCTHON's defence of it.

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refused

CENT. XVI. refused by the emperor, who, on this occasion, as well as on several others, shewed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candour, and justice. He even interposed his supreme authority to suspend any farther proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the *protestants* to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by FABER, and had again recourse to the pen of MELANCTHON, who refuted them, in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor on the 22d of September; but which that prince refused to receive. This *answer* was afterwards enlarged by MELANCTHON, when he had obtained a copy of FABER's reply, and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of *A defence of the confession of Augsburg.*

Deliberations concerning the method to be used in terminating these religious dissensions.

IV. There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which it was, in reality, most difficult to reconcile. The first and the most rational method was, to grant to those who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of *Rome*, the liberty of following their private judgment in matters of a religious nature, the privilege of serving God according to the dictates of their conscience, and all this in such a manner that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed. The second, and, at the same time, the shortest and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had so magnanimously thrown off their necks. Some thought of a middle way, which lay equally remote from the difficulties that attended the two methods now mentioned, and proposed that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigour of their pretensions, and

and remit something of their respective claims. This method, which seemed agreeable to the dictates of reason, charity, and justice, was highly approved of by several wise and good men on both sides; but it was ill-suited to the arrogant ambition of the Roman pontiff, and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld with horror whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgment. The second method, even the use of violence, and the terrors of the sword, was more agreeable to the spirit and sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguine counsels of the court of *Rome*; but the emperor had prudence and equity enough to make him reject it, and it appeared shocking to those who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was therefore most generally approved of; it was peculiarly agreeable to all who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire, nor did the Roman pontiff seem to look upon it either with aversion or contempt. Hence various conferences were held between persons of eminence, piety, and learning, who were chosen for that purpose from both sides, and nothing was omitted that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties [f]; but all to no purpose, since the difference between their opinions was too considerable, and of too much importance, to admit of a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of MELANCTHON appeared in their

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[f] As in the confession of *Augsburg* there were three sorts of articles, one sort orthodox, and adopted by both sides; another that consisted of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of LUTHER was entirely opposite to that of *Rome*; this gave some reason to hope that, by the means of certain concessions and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity, matters might be accommodated at last. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on this salutary work, at first seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines, which number was afterwards reduced to three. LUTHER's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendering him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences, but he was constantly consulted by the protestant party; and it was with a view to this that he resided at *Coburg*.

CENT. XVI. true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of *Rome* exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure, to comply with their demands: but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did MELANCTHON appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardor, and independence animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

The result
of these conferences.

V. This reconciling method of terminating the religious debates, between the friends of liberty and the votaries of *Rome*, proving ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were equally disavowed by the dictates of reason, and the precepts of the gospel. These measures were the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th day of November, a severe decree was issued out, by the express order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and, in this decree, every thing was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble (in about six months after the separation of the diet) a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled, beyond measure, in this partial decree; a new decree of severity and force added to that which had been published at *Worms* against LUTHER and his adherents; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches, severely censured; and a solemn order

order addressed to the princes, states, and cities, that had C E N T. XVI. thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to *Rome*, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church [*g*]. S E C T. I.

VI. No sooner were the elector of *Saxony* and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet of *Augsburg*, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In the year 1530, and the year following, they met, first at *Smalcald*, afterwards at *Frankfort*, and formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of *Augsburg*, without attempting, however, any thing, properly speaking, offensive against the votaries of *Rome*. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Denmark*, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance [*b*]. Amidst

☞ [*g*] To give the greater degree of weight to this edict it was resolved, that no judge, who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of *Spire*, which is the supreme court in *Germany*. The emperor also and the popish princes engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and to promote its execution.

☞ [*b*] LUTHER, who at first seemed averse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, perceiving at length its necessity, consented to it; but, uncharitably as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of ZUINGLE among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of BUCER. And yet we find that the cities of *Ulm* and *Augsburg* had embraced the Reformation on the principles of ZUINGLE.—In the invitation addressed to HENRY VIII, king of *England*, whom the confederate princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following things were expressly stipulated among several others: *viz.* That the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of CHRIST, as it was contained in the confession of *Augsburg*, and defend the same at the next general council;—that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of *Rome*, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees, nor suffer them to be respected in his dominions;—that he should never allow the Roman pontiff to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions;—that he should advance 100,000 crowns for the use of the confederacy, and double that sum if it became necessary; all which

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these motions and preparations, which portended an approaching rupture, the elector Palatine, and the elector of *Mentz*, offered their mediation, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending princes. With respect to the emperor, various reasons united to turn his views towards peace. For, on the one hand, he stood in need of succours against the Turk, which the protestant princes refused to grant as long as the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsburg* remained in force; and, on the other, the election of his brother FERDINAND to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been concluded by a majority of votes, at the diet of *Cologne*, in the year 1531, was contested by the same princes as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire.

The peace
of *Nurem-*
berg.

VII. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed, and, after various negotiations, a treaty of peace was concluded at *Nuremberg*, in the year 1532, between the emperor and the protestant princes, on the following conditions; that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turk, and acknowledge FERDINAND lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor, on his part, should abrogate and annul the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsburg*, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise

articles the confederate princes were obliged equally to observe on their part. To these demands the king answered, immediately, in a manner that was not satisfactory. He declared, that he would maintain and promote the true doctrine of CHRIST; but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what should be his faith, or that of his kingdoms, and therefore desired they would send over learned men to confer with him, in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He moreover declared himself of their opinion with respect to the meeting of a free general council, promised to join with them, in all such councils, for the defence of the true doctrine, but thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. After this, the king gave them a second answer more full and satisfactory; but, upon the fall of queen ANNE, this negotiation came to nothing. On the one hand, the king grew cold, when he perceived that the confederates could be of no longer service to him in supporting the validity of his marriage; and, on the other, the German princes were sensible that they could never succeed with HENRY, unless they would allow him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.

of

of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of C E N T. XVI. faith was fixed either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a S E C T. I. diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement, when JOHN, elector of *Saxony*, died, and was succeeded by his son JOHN FREDERICK, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities.

VIII. The religious truce, concluded at *Nuremberg*, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the Reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in *Germany*, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standards of LUTHER. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates that divided *Europe* was founded in the meeting of the general council, which had been so solemnly promised, the emperor renewed his earnest requests to CLEMENT VII, that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontiff, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse [i]. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently shewed, that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his legate, to assemble a council at *Mantua*, *Placentia*, or *Bologna*; but the protestants refused their consent to

A council
expected in
vain.

☞ [i] Besides the fear of seeing his authority diminished by a general council, another reason engaged CLEMENT VII to avoid an assembly of that nature; for being conscious of the illegitimacy of his birth, as FRAO PAULO observes, he had ground to fear that the COLONNAS, or his other enemies, might plead this circumstance before the council, as a reason for his exclusion from the pontificate; since it might be well questioned, whether a *bastard* could be a pope, though it is known, from many instances, that a *profligate* may.

the

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the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted, that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of *Germany*, should be decided within the limits of the empire. The pope, by his usual artifices, eluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in the year 1534, in the midst of his stratagems [k].

IX. His successor PAUL III seemed to shew less reluctance to the assembling a general council, and appeared even disposed to comply with the desires of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in the year 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at *Mantua*; and, the year following, actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under his jurisdiction [l]. The protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded, that, in such a council [m], all things would be carried by the votaries of *Rome*, and nothing concluded but what should be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff, assembled at *Smalcald* in the year 1537. And there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council as that which was convoked by PAUL III; but, at the same time, had a new summary of their doctrine drawn up by LUTHER, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it was required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the *Articles of Smalcald*, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

New outrages committed by the anabaptists.

X. During these transactions, two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the Reformation in

[k] See an ample account of every thing relative to this council, in FRA. PAULO's *History of the Council of Trent*, book I.

[l] This council was summoned, by PAUL III, to assemble at *Mantua* on the 23d of May, 1537, by a bull issued out the 2d of June of the preceding year. Several obstacles prevented its meeting. FREDERICK, duke of *Mantua*, was not much inclined to receive at once so many guests, and some of them turbulent ones, into the place of his residence.

[m] That is, in a council assembled by the authority of the pope alone, and that also in *Italy*; two circumstances that must have greatly contributed to give PAUL III an undue influence in that assembly. The protestants maintained, that the emperor and the other Christian princes of *Europe* had a right to be *authoritatively* concerned in calling a general council; and that so much the more, as the Roman pontiff was evidently one of the parties in the present debate.

particular,

particular, and produced, in *Germany*, civil tumults and commotions of the most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former of these events was a new sedition, kindled by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the *anabaptists*; and the latter, the rupture between HENRY VIII king of *England*, and the Roman pontiff, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch.

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In the year 1533, there came to *Munster*, a city in *Westphalia*, a certain number of *anabaptists*, who surpassed the rest of that fanatical tribe in the extravagance of their proceedings, the frenzy of their disordered brains, and the madness of their pretensions and projects. They gave themselves out for the messengers of heaven, invested with a divine commission to lay the foundations of a new government, a holy and spiritual empire, and to destroy and overturn all temporal rule and authority, all human and political institutions. Having turned all things into confusion and uproar in the city of *Munster* by this seditious and extravagant declaration, they began to erect a new republic [n], conformable to their absurd and chimerical notions of religion, and committed the administration of it to JOHN BOCKHOLT, a taylor by profession, and a native of *Leyden*. Their reign, however, was of a short duration; for, in the year 1535, the city was besieged and taken by the bishop of *Munster*, assisted by other German princes; this fanatical king and his wrong-headed associates put to death in the most terrible and ignominious manner, and the new hierarchy destroyed with its furious and extravagant founders. This disorderly and outrageous conduct of an handful of *anabaptists*, drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers devoted to death in the most dreadful forms [o].

[n] This fanatical establishment they distinguished by the title of the *New Jerusalem*.

[o] HERMANNI HAMMELMANNI *Historia Eccles. renati Evangelii per*

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Great Bri-
tain re-
nounces the
spiritual ju-
risdiction
and supre-
macy of the
Roman pon-
tiff.

XI. The pillars of papal despotism were at this time shaken in *England* by an event, which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences. HENRY VIII, a prince who in vices and in abilities was surpassed by none who swayed the scepter in this age, and who, in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of LUTHER with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in this great revolution [p]. Bound in the chains of matrimony to CATHARINE of *Arragon*, aunt to CHARLES V, but, at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, whose name was ANNA BOLEYN, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter [q]. For this pur-

inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphal. part II. p. 1196. opp.—DE PRINTZ *Specimen Historiæ Anabapt.* c. x, xi, xii. p. 94.

☞ This sect was, in process of time, considerably reformed by the ministry of two Frieslanders, UBBO and MENNON, who purified it from the enthusiastic, seditious, and atrocious principles of its first founders, as will be seen in the progress of this history.

☞ [p] Among the various portraits that have been given by historians of HENRY VIII, there is none that equals the masterly one drawn by Mr. HUME, in his *History of England*, under the house of TUDOR. This great painter, whose colouring, in other subjects, is sometimes more artful than accurate, has caught from nature the striking lines of HENRY's motley character, and thrown them into a composition, in which they appear with the greatest truth, set out with all the powers of expression.

☞ [q] From Dr. MOSHEIM's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of ANNA BOLEYN were the *only* motive that engaged HENRY to dissolve his marriage with CATHARINE. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage, before his acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate ANNE. Conversant in the writings of THOMAS AQUINAS and other schoolmen, who looked upon the Levitical law as of moral and permanent obligation, and attentive to the remonstrances of the bishops, who declared his marriage unlawful, the king was filled with anxious doubts, that had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen, before his affections had been engaged by any other. This appears by Cardinal WOLSEY's proposing a marriage between his majesty and the sister of FRANCIS I, which that pliant courtier would never have done, had he known that the king's affections were otherwise engaged. After all, it is very possible, that the age and infirmities of CATHARINE, together with the blooming charms of ANNA BOLEYN, tended much to animate HENRY's remorse, and to render his conscience more scrupulous. See BURNET's *History of the Reformation*. HUME's *History of the House of Tudor*, p. 150.

pose, he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff CLEMENT VII, in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with CATHARINE, alledging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother, ARTHUR, and as it was repugnant to the divine law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. CLEMENT was greatly perplexed upon this occasion by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor in case his decision was favourable to HENRY; and therefore he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain promises, and tardy proceedings of the Roman pontiff, HENRY had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous THOMAS CRANMER, who was a secret friend to LUTHER and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the see of *Canterbury*. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favourable to his views. The greatest part of the universities declared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful. CATHARINE was consequently divorced; ANNA conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of CLEMENT; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of *Rome*, by HENRY's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontiff. Soon after this, HENRY was declared by the parliament and people *supreme head, on earth, of the church of England*, the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned [r].

[r] Besides the full and accurate account of this and other important events that is to be found in Bishop BURNET's excellent *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, the curious reader will do well to consult the records of this memorable revolution in WILKINS's *Concil. Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, tom. iii. p. 424.—RAYNAL, *Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, tom. i. part II. p. 90.—*Gen. Dictionary*, at the article *BOLEYN*,

CENT.

XVI.

SECT. I.

The nature and effects of this first step towards the Reformation in England.

XII. It is however carefully to be observed here, that this downfall of the papal authority in *England* was not productive of much benefit either to the friends or to the cause of the Reformation. For the same monarch, who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of *Rome*, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Besides, he considered the title of *Head of the English church*, as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and indeed usurped, by the Roman pontiffs; and, in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorised to prescribe modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence it came to pass, that, during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of CRANMER, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the favourite of the king, and the friend of the Reformation, counteracted however, in many instances, the humour and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise counsels of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favour of popery, and increased considerably the number of those who wished well to the Reformation [s].

A new project of pacifications

XIII. After the meeting of the council of *Mantua* was prevented, various measures were taken, and many schemes proposed, by the emperor on the one hand, and the protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But these measures and projects were unattended with any solid or salutary fruit, and were generally disconcerted by the intrigues and artifice of *Rome*, whose legates and creatures

[s] Besides BURNET's *History of the Reformation*, see NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 11.

were always lying in wait to blow the flame of discord in C E N T. XVI. all those councils that seemed unfavourable to the am-
 S E C T. I. bition of its pontiffs. In the year 1541, the emperor, Conference
 regardless of the bishop of *Rome*, appointed a conference of *Worms*.
 at *Worms*, on the subject of Religion, between persons of Worms.
 of piety and learning chosen out of each of the con-
 tending parties. It was here that MELANCTHON and
 ECKIUS disputed during the space of three days [t].
 This conference was, for certain reasons, removed to the Diet of Ra-
 diet which was held at *Ratisbon* that same year, and in tishon.
 which the principal subject of deliberation was a memo-
 rial, presented by a person unknown, containing a pro-
 ject of peace, with the terms of accommodation that
 were proper to terminate these religious differences [u].
 This conference, however, produced no other effect, than
 a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer the
 decision of their pretensions and debates to a general
 council, or, if the meeting of such a council should be
 prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next Ger-
 man diet.

XIV. This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the All things
 period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded the diet tend to an
 of *Ratisbon*; and by various incidents that widened the open rup-
 breach, and put off to a farther day the deliberations that ture.
 were designed to heal it. It is true, the Roman pontiff
 ordered his legate to declare in the diet, which was as-
 sembled at *Spire* in the year 1542, that he would, ac-
 cording to the promise he had already made, assemble a
 general council, and that *Trent* should be the place of
 its meeting, if the diet had no objection to that city.
 FERDINAND, king of the Romans, and the princes who
 adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this
 proposal; while the protestant members of the diet ob-
 jected both against a council summoned by the papal
 authority alone, and also against the place appointed for
 its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council,
 which should not be biassed by the dictates, nor awed by
 the proximity of the Roman pontiff. This protestation
 produced no effect; PAUL III persisted in his purpose,

[t] See JO. ANDR. ROEDERI *Libellus de Colloquio Wormatiensi Norimb.*
 1744, in 4to.

[u] See JO. ERMANN BIRCKII *Triplex Interim*, cap. i. p. 1.

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and issued out his circular letters for the convocation of the council [*w*], with the approbation of the emperor; while this prince endeavoured, at the diet of *Worms*, in the year 1545, to persuade the protestants to consent to the meeting of this council at *Trent*. But the protestants were fixed in their resolution, and the efforts of CHARLES were vain. Upon which the emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures which were incessantly

[*w*] It is proper to observe here, that, having summoned successively a council at *Mantua*, *Vicenza*, and *Venice*, without any effect *, this pontiff thought it necessary to shew the protestants that he was not averse to every kind of reformation; and therefore appointed four cardinals, and five other persons eminent for their learning, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church in general, and of the church of *Rome* in particular, knowing full well, by the spirit which reigned in the conclave, that this project would come to nothing. A plan, however, was drawn up by the persons appointed for that purpose. The reformation proposed in this plan was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contains some particulars, which scarcely could have been expected from the pens of those that composed it. They complained, for instance, of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men; and that, therefore, care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities. They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the colloquies of ERASMUS should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of St. ANTHONY, and several other saints, should be abolished; and, which was the best of all their proposals, that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. PETER's church; and declared, that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently at *Rome*, and riding through the streets on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation (which LUTHER and STURMIUS of *Strasbourg* turned into ridicule, and which indeed left unredressed the most intolerable grievances of which the protestants complained) were published at *Antwerp* in or about the year 1539, with the answer of COCHLÆUS to the objections of STURMIUS. They are likewise prefixed to the *History of the Council of Trent*, by CRABBE, and were afterwards published at *Paris* in 1612 †.

* This council was never assembled.

† See PAULIN, in *Paul III. Sleid.* l. xii. *Univ. Mod. Hist.* vol. xxvi. p. 30.

suggested by the court of *Rome*, departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and, listening to the sanguine counsels of PAUL, formed, in conjunction with that subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms. The landgrave of *Hesse* and the elector of *Saxony*, who were the chief protectors of the protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took the proper measures to prevent their being surprised and overwhelmed unawares by a superior force, and, accordingly, raised an army for their defence. While this terrible storm was rising, LUTHER, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force in matters of religion was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by Providence from this scene of tumult, and the approaching calamities that threatened his country. He died in peace, on the 18th of February, in the year 1546, at *Aysleben*, the place of his birth.

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CHAP. IV.

The History of the Reformation, from the commencement of the war of Smalcald to the famous Pacification, commonly called the PEACE OF RELIGION, concluded at Augsbourg.

I. THE emperor and the pope had mutually resolved the destruction of all who should dare to oppose the council of *Trent*. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking arms; and, accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun, in the year 1546, when the protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pontiff to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, it is true, a new conference this very year, at the diet of *Ratisbon*, between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences; but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would,

The commencement
of the war
of Smalcald.

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The affairs
of the pro-
testants take
an unfavour-
able turn,

sooner or later, be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers, assembled in the council of *Trent*, promulgated their decrees: while the protestant princes in the diet of *Ratisbon* protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

II. The elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse* led their forces into *Bavaria* against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp at *Ingolstadt* with great spirit. It was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action; but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by the most of the confederates, and, probably, would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these we may reckon, principally, the perfidy of MAURICE, duke of *Saxony*, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor on the one hand, and by his own ambition and avarice on the other, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle JOHN FREDERICK, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor among the confederate princes; the failure of *France* in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch; and other incidents of less moment. All these things discouraged so the heads of the protestant party, that their army was soon dispersed, and the elector of *Saxony* directed his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches, with a view to destroy his enemy, before he should have time to recover his vigour, in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and, as there is too much reason to think, by the treachery of his officers. The two armies drew up in order of battle near *Muhlberg* on the *Elbe*, on the 24th of April, 1547; and, after a bloody action, that of the elector, being inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, the other chief of the protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law, MAURICE, now declared elector of *Saxony* [x], to throw himself

☞ [x] In the room of JOHN FREDERICK, whom he had so basely betrayed.

upon

upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of CHARLES for obtaining forgiveness, and being restored to liberty; but, notwithstanding these expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said, that the emperor retracted his promise, and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words, which resemble each other [y]; but this point of history has not been hitherto so far cleared up, as to enable us to judge with certainty concerning the confinement of this prince, and the real causes to which it was owing [z].

III. This revolution seemed every way adapted to complete the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontiff with the most triumphant success. In the diet of *Augsburg*, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and dispatch, the emperor required of the protestants that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at *Trent*. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal; and, among others, MAURICE, the new elector of *Saxony*, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, and who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law the landgrave of *Hesse*. This general submission to the will

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The famous temporary edict, called the *Interim*.

☞ [y] There is scarcely in history any instance of such a mean, perfidious, and despotic behaviour as that of the emperor to the landgrave in the case now before us. After having received in public the humble submissions of that unhappy prince, made upon his knees, and that in the most respectful and affecting terms, and after having set him at liberty by a solemn treaty, he had him arrested anew, without alledging any reason, nay, any pretext, and kept him for several years in a close and severe confinement. When MAURICE remonstrated to the emperor against this new imprisonment, the emperor answered, that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be imprisoned anew, but only that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonment; and, to support this assertion, he produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in *ewiger gefangnis*, which signifies a perpetual prison, instead of *einiger gefangnis*, which means any prison. This matter is, however, contested by some historians.

[z] See a German work, entituled, BENI GROSCH *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirchen gegen Gottfr. Arnold*. p. 29.

C E N T. of the emperor, did not, however, produce the fruits that
 XVI. were expected from such a solemn and almost universal
 S E C T. I. approbation of the council of *Trent*. A plague, which
 manifested itself, or was said to do so, in that city, engaged the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to *Bologna*, and thereby the council was, in effect, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties and remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble it again without delay. While things were in this situation, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled was cast at a distance, the emperor judged it necessary, during this *interval*, to fall upon some method of maintaining peace in religious matters, until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view, that he ordered JULIUS PFLUGIUS, bishop of *Naumburg*, MICHAEL SIDONIUS, a creature of the pontiff, and JOHN AGRICOLA, a native of *Aysleben*, to draw up a *Formulary*, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both of the contending parties, until a council should be summoned. As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called the *Interim* [a].

[a] This project of CHARLES was formed, partly to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other purposes of a more political kind. Be that as it may, the *Formula ad Interim*, or Temporary Rule of Faith and Worship, here mentioned, contained all the essential doctrines of the church of *Rome*, though considerably softened and mitigated by the moderate, prudent, and artful terms in which they were expressed; terms quite different from those that were employed, before and after this period, by the council of *Trent*. There was even an affected ambiguity in many expressions, which rendered them susceptible of different senses, applicable to the sentiments of both communions, and therefore disagreeable to both. The *Interim* was composed with that fraudulent, specious, and seducing dexterity, that in after times appeared in the deceitful *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*, by M. BOSSUET, bishop of *Meaux*, and it was almost equally rejected by the protestants and Roman catholics. The *cup* was allowed, by this Imperial Creed, to the protestants in the administration of the Lord's supper, and priests and clerks were permitted by it to enter into the married state. These grants were, however, accompanied with the two following conditions: 1. *That every one should be at liberty to use the cup, or to abstain from it, and to chuse a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as he should judge most fitting.* 2. *That these grants should remain in force no longer than the happy period, when a general council should terminate all religious differences.*

IV. This

The troubles to which this edict gave rise.

IV. This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favourable to the interests and pretensions of the court of *Rome*, had yet the fate to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed; it pleased neither of the contending parties, but was equally offensive to the followers of *LUTHER*, and to the Roman pontiff. It was, however, promulgated with solemnity by the emperor, at the diet of *Augsburg*; and the elector of *Mentz*, without even deigning to ask the opinions of the assembled princes and states, rose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous *Interim*. Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interpreted as the mark of a tacit consent, engaged against their will to receive this *book*, as a body of ecclesiastical law. The greatest part of those, who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this Imperial Creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms; and hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities. *MAURICE*, elector of *Saxony*, who, for some time, had held a neutral conduct, and neither declared himself for those who rejected nor for those who had adopted the *rule* in question, assembled, in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with *MELANCTHON* at the head of the latter, and, in several conferences held at *Leipsic* and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be done in this critical affair. The deliberations, on this occasion, were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous; for *MELANCTHON*, whose opinion was respected as a law by the reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of a

This second condition was adapted to produce the greatest disorder and confusion, in case the future council should think proper to enjoin celibacy on the clergy, and declare, as it did in effect, their marriage unchristian and unlawful.

[a] See *JO. ERDM. BIECKII Triplex Interim*, published in 8vo at *Leipsic*, in the year 1721.—*LUC. OSIANDER Centuria XVI. Histor. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. lxxviii. p. 425.*—For an account of the authors and editions of the book called *Interim*, see *Die Danische Biblioth. part. V. p. 1. & part VI. p. 185.*

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reconciling sentence, which, he hoped, would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book, called *Interim*, could not, by any means, be adopted by the friends of the Reformation; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason, why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, in things that did not relate to the essential points of religion, in things that might be considered as accessory or *indifferent* [b]. This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced, on the contrary, new divisions, and formed a schism among the followers of LUTHER, of which farther mention shall be made hereafter, in the *History of the Church* established by that reformer. I shall only observe, that this schism placed the cause of the Reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed either to ruin it entirely, or to retard considerably its progress, had the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of these divisions, and to seize the favourable occasion that was presented to them of turning the force of the protestants against themselves.

The project
of a council
at Trent re-
newed.

V. Amidst these contests PAUL III departed this life in the year 1549, and was succeeded, the year following, by JULIUS III, who, yielding to the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to the assembling a council at *Trent*. Accordingly, in the diet of *Augsburg*, which was again held under the cannon of an Imperial army, CHARLES laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The greatest part of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also MAURICE, elector of *Saxony*, submitted upon certain conditions [c]. The emperor then

[b] By things *indifferent* MELANCTHON understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of the popish worship, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion.

[c] MAURICE (who was desirous of regaining the esteem of the protestants of *Saxony*, which he had lost by his perfidious behaviour to the late elector JOHN FREDERICK, his benefactor and friend) gave his consent to the re-establishing the council of *Trent*, upon the following conditions :

concluded

concluded the diet in the year 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that he would use his most zealous endeavours towards the promoting moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly. Upon the breaking up of the diet, the protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of MELANCTHON, and the Wurtembergers that of BREDTIUS, to draw up *confessions* of their faith, that were to be laid before the new council. Besides the ambassadors of the duke of *Wurtemberg*, several doctors of that city repaired to *Trent*. The Saxon divines, with MELANCTHON at their head, set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no farther than *Nuremberg*. They had received secret orders to stop there; for MAURICE had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views; on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He therefore yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality.

VI. The real views of CHARLES V, amidst the divisions and troubles of *Germany* (which he fomented by negotiations that carried the outward aspect of a reconciling spirit) will appear evidently to such as consider attentively the nature of the times, and compare the transactions of this prince, the one with the other. Relying on the extent of his power and the success that frequently accompanied his enterprizes, with a degree of confidence that was highly imprudent, CHARLES proposed to turn these religious commotions and dissensions to the confirmation and increase of his dominion in *Germany*, and by sowing the seeds of discord among the

Maurice
disconcerts
the schemes
of the emperor.

1st, That the points of doctrine, which had been already decided there, should be re-examined, and discussed anew: 2^{dly}, That this examination should be made in presence of the protestant divines, or their deputies. 3^{dly}, That the Saxon protestants should have a liberty of *voting*, as well as of *deliberating*, in the council: and 4^{bly}, That the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person or by his legates. This declaration of MAURICE was read in the diet, and his deputies insisted upon its being entered into the registers, which the archbishop of *Mentz*, however, obstinately refused.

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princes of the empire, to weaken their power, and thereby the more easily to encroach upon their rights and privileges. On the other hand, ardently desirous of reducing within narrower limits the jurisdiction and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, that they might not set bounds to his ambition, nor prevent the execution of his aspiring views, he flattered himself that this would be the natural effect of the approaching council. He was confirmed in this pleasing hope, by reflecting on what had happened in the councils of *Constance* and of *Basil*, in which the lust of papal ambition had been opposed with spirit, and restrained within certain limits. He also persuaded himself, that, by the dexterity of his agents, and the number of the Spanish and German bishops that were devoted to his interests, he should be able to influence and direct the deliberations of the approaching council in such a manner, as to make its decisions answer his expectations, and contribute effectually to the accomplishment of his views. Such were the specious dreams of ambition that filled the imagination of this restless prince; but his views and projects were disconcerted by that same MAURICE of *Saxony*, who had been one of the principal instruments of that violence and oppression which he had exercised against the protestant princes, and of the injury he had done to the protestant cause.

A war kind-
led between
the emperor
and Maurice
of *Saxony*.

VII. The most considerable princes, not only of *Germany*, but even of all *Europe*, had, for a long time, addressed to the emperor their united entreaties for the deliverance of PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, and JOHN FREDERICK, elector of *Saxony*, from their confinement; and MAURICE had solicited, with peculiar warmth and assiduity, the liberty of the former, who was his father-in-law. But all these solicitations produced no effect. MAURICE, perceiving at length that he was duped by the emperor, and also convinced that this ambitious monarch was forming insidious designs upon the liberties of *Germany* and the jurisdiction of its princes, entered, with the utmost secrecy and expedition, into an alliance with the king of *France* and several of the German princes, for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the empire. Encouraged by this respectable confederacy, the active Saxon marched a powerful army against the

emperor, in the year 1552; and that with such astonishing valour and rapidity, that he surpris'd CHARLES at *Inspruk*, where he lay with a handful of troops in the utmost security, and without the least apprehension of danger. This sudden and unforeseen event alarmed and dejected the emperor to such a degree, that he was willing to make peace on almost any conditions; and consequently, in a little time after this, he not only concluded at *Passau* the famous treaty of *Pacification* with the protestants [*d*], but also promised to assemble, in the space of six months, a diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions, that had been occasioned by a variety of sentiments in religious matters, should be entirely removed. Thus did the same prince, who stands foremost in the list of those that oppress'd the protestants and reduced their affairs to the greatest extremities, restore their expiring hopes, support and render triumphant their desperate cause, and procure them a bulwark of peace and liberty, which still remains. MAURICE, however, did not live to see this happy issue of his glorious expedition; for he lost his life the year following, by a wound received at the battle of *Siverhausen*, while he was fighting against ALBERT of *Brandenburg* [*e*].

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 [*d*] As this treaty is considered by the German protestants as the basis of their religious liberty, it will not be amiss to insert here some of its principal articles. By the three first articles it was stipulated, that MAURICE and the confederates should lay down their arms, and should lend their troops to FERDINAND to defend him against the Turks, and that the landgrave of *Hesse* should be set at liberty. By the fourth it was agreed, that the rule of faith, called *Interim*, should be considered as null and void; that the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, until a diet should be assembled to determine amicably the present disputes (which diet was to meet in the space of six months); and that this religious liberty should continue always, in case that it should be found impossible to come to an uniformity in doctrine and worship. It was also resolved, that all those who had suffered banishment, or any other calamity, on account of their having been concerned in the league or war of *Smalcald*, should be re-instated in their privileges, their possessions, and employments; that the Imperial chamber at *Spire* should be open to the protestants as well as to the catholics; and that there should be always a certain number of the Lutheran persuasion in that high court.

 [*e*] ALBERT, marquis of *Brandenburg*, after the pacification of *Passau*, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman catholics, and afterwards committed such ravages in the empire, that

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VIII. The troubles of *Germany*, with several other incidents, rendered it impossible to assemble the Diet, which the emperor had promised at the pacification of *Passau*, so soon as the period mentioned in the articles of that treaty. This famous diet met, however, at *Augsburg*, in the year 1555, was opened by FERDINAND in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord, that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that *religious peace*, as it is commonly called, which secured to the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For after various debates, the following memorable acts were passed on the 25th of September: that the protestants who followed the confession of *Augsburg*, should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves, relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest and the most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared, and proceeded against, as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace [f]. The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the warm debates, the violent animosities and bloody wars, that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the gospel, shew us, in a shocking and glaring point of light, the

a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which MAURICE was placed.

[f] See Jo. SCHILTERI *Liber de Pace Religiosa*, published in 4to, in the year 1700.—CHRIST. LEHMANNI *Acta publica et originalia de Pace Religiosa*. Francof. 1707.

ignorance

ignorance and superstition of these miserable times, and stand upon record as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of the Reformation.

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IX. While these things were transacting in *Germany*, the friends of genuine Christianity in *England* deplored the gloomy reign of superstition, and the almost total extinction of true religion; and, seeing before their eyes the cause of popery maintained by the terrors of bloody persecution, and daily victims brought to the stake, to expiate the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of the Gospel to the despotic laws of *Rome*, they esteemed the Germans happy, in having thrown off the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church. HENRY VIII, whose personal vices, as well as his arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly retarded the progress of the Reformation, was now no more. He departed this life in the year 1547, and was succeeded by his only son EDWARD VI. This amiable prince, whose early youth was crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honour to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigour to the protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious men of foreign countries to settle in *England*, and addressed a particular invitation to MARTIN BUCER and PAUL FAGIUS, whose moderation added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labours of these eminent men, in concert with those of the friends of the Reformation in *England*, he might purge his dominions from the fordid fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued out the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In the year 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible, and suited to their loss. His sister MARY (the daughter of CATHARINE of *Arragon*, from whom HENRY had been separated by the famous divorce) a furious bigot to the church of *Rome*, and a princess whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the British throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws and the tyrannical yoke of *Rome* upon

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C E N T. upon the people of *England*. Nor were the methods she
 XVI. employed, in the cause of superstition, better than the
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 compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most
 shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will, or
 made the least stand against the restoration of popery.
 And among many other victims, the learned and pious
 CRANMER, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been one
 of the most illustrious instruments of the Reformation in
England, fell a sacrifice to her fury. This odious scene
 of persecution was happily concluded, in the year 1558,
 by the death of the queen, who left no issue; and, as
 soon as her successor the lady ELIZABETH ascended the
 throne, all things assumed a new and a pleasing aspect.
 This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, counsels, and
 projects breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness
 and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly
 spirit, in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring
 liberty, broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority
 and superstition, and, delivering her people from the
 bondage of *Rome*, established that form of religious doc-
 trine and ecclesiastical government, which still subsists in
England. This religious establishment differs, in some
 respects, from the plan that had been formed by those
 whom EDWARD VI had employed for promoting the
 cause of the Reformation, and approaches nearer to the
 rites and discipline of former times; though it is widely
 different, and in the most important points entirely
 opposite, to the principles of the Roman hierarchy.

In *Scotland*. X. The seeds of the Reformation were very early sown
 in *Scotland*, by several noblemen of that nation, who had
 resided in *Germany*, during the religious disputes that
 divided the empire. But the power of the Roman pon-
 tiff, supported and seconded by inhuman laws and barba-
 rous executions, choked, for many years, these tender
 seeds, and prevented their taking root. The first and
 most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction was JOHN
 KNOX [g], a disciple of CALVIN, whose eloquence was

[g] It will not be improper to insert here the character of
 this famous Scottish reformer, as it is drawn by the elegant, spirited,
 accurate, and impartial pen of Dr. ROBERTSON, in his *History of*
Scotland, book VI. “ Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness (says that
 persuasive,

persuasive, and whose fortitude was invincible [b]. This resolute reformer set out from *Geneva* for *Scotland* in the year 1559, and, in a very short space of time, inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of *Rome*, that the greatest part of the Scotch nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery [i]. From this period to the present times, the form of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that had been established at *Geneva* by the ministry of CALVIN, has been maintained in *Scotland* with invincible obstinacy and zeal, and every attempt to introduce into that kingdom the rites and government of the church of *England*, has proved impotent and unsuccessful [k].

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“incomparable writer) were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncompromising himself, he shewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the queen’s person and conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now rendered his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an unwearying application to study and to business, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a lingering illness, he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, but fill them with exultation in their last moments.”

[b] The earl of MORTON, who was present at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honourable for KNOX, as they came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity: *There lies He who never feared the face of man.*

[i] See NEAL’s *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 165. 232. 234. 569.—CALDERWOOD’s *History of Scotland’s Reformation*, published in folio at London, in the year 1680.—GEORG. BUCHANANI *Rerum Scotticar. Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 313. edit. Rudimann. folio.—MELVIL’s *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 73.

[k] The indignation of the people, which had been excited by the

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XI. The cause of the Reformation underwent, in Ireland, the same vicissitudes and revolutions that had

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vices of the clergy, was soon transferred to their persons, and settled at last, by a transition not unusual, upon the offices they enjoyed; and thus the effects of the Reformation extended not only to the doctrine, but also to the government of the popish church. But in Germany, England, and the northern kingdoms, its operations were checked by the power and policy of their princes, and the episcopal hierarchy (which appears to be the most conformable to the practice of the church, since Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire) was still continued, in these countries, under certain limitations. The ecclesiastical government was copied after the civil; and the dioceses and jurisdiction of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, corresponded with the division and constitution of the empire. In Switzerland and the Low Countries, the nature and spirit of a republican policy gave fuller scope to the reformers; and thus all pre-eminence of order in the church was destroyed, and that form of ecclesiastical government established, which has been since called *Presbyterian*. The situation of the primitive church (oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged by their sufferings to be contented with a form of government extremely simple, and with a parity of rank for want of ambition to propose, or power to support, a subordination) suggested, without doubt, the idea of this latter system; though it would be unfair to alledge this consideration, as a victorious argument in favour of *presbyterianism*; because a change of circumstances will sometimes justify a change in the methods and plans of government. Be that as it may, the church of Geneva, which received the decisions of CALVIN with an amazing docility, restored this *Presbyterian*, or republican form of ecclesiastical policy; KNOX studied, admired, and recommended it to his countrymen, and he was seconded by many of the Scotch nobles, of whom some hated the persons, while others coveted the wealth, of the dignified clergy. But, in introducing this system, the Scottish reformer did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form; but, instead of *bishops*, proposed the establishment of ten *superintendants*, to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, without pretending to claim either a seat in parliament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops. This proposal was drawn up and presented to a convention of estates, which was held in the year 1561; and what it contained, in relation to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly, had not a design to recover the patrimony of the church, in order to apply it to the advancement of religion and learning, been insinuated in it. After this, at certain periods, the name of bishops was revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction, or revenues, that were formerly appropriated to that order. They were made subject to the general assemblies of the clergy, and their power was diminished from day to day, until their name, as well as their order, was abolished, at the Revolution in 1688, and *presbyterianism* established in Scotland by the laws of the state. See ROBERTSON'S *History of Scotland*, passim.

attended

attended it in *England*. When HENRY VIII, after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared *supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England*, GEORGE BROWN, a native of *England*, and a monk of the Augustin order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of *Dublin*, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relicks, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and, by the influence, as well as authority, he had in *Ireland*, caused the king's *supremacy* to be acknowledged in that nation [1]. HENRY shewed soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of EDWARD VI, still farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of bishop BROWN, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the Reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in *Ireland*, as it had done in *England* [m]. MARY pursued with fire

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[1] The learned and pious primate USHER, in his *Memoirs of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland*, speaks of bishop BROWN in the following manner: "GEORGE BROWN was a man of a chearful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustine order in *England*, to make their application solely to CHRIST; which advice coming to the ears of HENRY VIII, he became a favourite, and was made archbishop of *Dublin*. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the *Ten Commandments*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Creed*, to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in *Ireland*, to embrace the Reformation of the church of *England*." See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, p. 558. intitled, *Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland*, &c.

[m] Here Dr. MOSHEIM has fallen into a mistake, by not distinguishing between the *designs* of the queen, which were indeed cruel, and their *execution*, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has

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and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived BROWN and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of ELIZABETH gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was again

been copied from the papers of RICHARD, earl of CORK, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir JAMES WARE, is as follows:

“ Queen MARY, having dealt severely with the protestants in *England*,
“ about the latter end of her reign signed a commission for to take the same
“ course with them in *Ireland*; and, to execute the same with greater force,
“ she nominates Dr. COLE one of the commissioners. This doctor coming
“ with the commission to *Chester* on his journey, the mayor of that city,
“ hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into *Ireland*, and he
“ being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who, in discourse with the
“ mayor, taketh out of a clokebag a leather box, saying unto him, *Here is a*
“ *commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland* (calling the protestants by
“ that title). The good woman of the house, being well affected to the
“ protestant religion, and also having a brother named JOHN EDMONDS of
“ the same, then a citizen in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the doctor’s
“ words; but watching her convenient time, while the mayor took his
“ leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the
“ box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof a sheet of paper,
“ with a pack of cards wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced
“ uppermost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of
“ what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day going to
“ the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards *Ireland*,
“ and landed on the 7th of October, 1558, at *Dublin*. Then coming to
“ the castle, the lord FITZ-WALTERS, being lord-deputy, sent for him to
“ come before him and the privy-council: who, coming in, after he had
“ made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the
“ box unto the lord-deputy, who, causing it to be opened, that the secretary
“ might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with
“ the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord-deputy
“ and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but
“ knew not how it was gone; then the lord deputy made answer, *Let us*
“ *have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while.*
“ The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into
“ *England*; and, coming to the court, obtained another commission; but,
“ staying for a wind on the water-side, news came to him that the queen
“ was dead; and thus God preserved the protestants of *Ireland*.”

Queen ELIZABETH was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by lord FITZ-WALTER on his return to *England*, that she sent for ELIZABETH EDMONDS, whose husband’s name was MATTERSAD, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, or *History of Ireland*, &c. vol. ii. p. 308.—*Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568.

recovering

recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in *England* [n].

XII. The Reformation had not been long established in *Britain*, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontiff. PHILIP II, king of *Spain*, apprehending the danger to which the religion of *Rome* was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which reigned in the inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, took the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe and barbarous laws against all innovators in matters of religion, and erected that unjust and inhuman tribunal of the *inquisition*, which would intimidate and tame, as he thought, the manly spirit of an oppressed and persecuted people. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate zeal for the superstitions of *Rome* accelerated their destruction, and the papal authority, which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to a desperate one, by the very steps that were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an *association*, in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but, their solicitations and requests being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force, what they hoped to have gained from clemency and justice. They addressed themselves to a free and an abused people, spurned the authority of a cruel yoke, and with an impetuosity and vehemence that were perhaps excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the church of *Rome* [o]. To quell

The Reformation takes place in the United Provinces.

[n] See *The Life of Dr. GEORGE BROWN, Archbishop of Dublin*, published at *London* in 4to, in the year 1681, and which has been reprinted in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, No. LXXIX.

[o] Dr. MOSHEIM seems here to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more temperate and decent than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more tumultuous and irregular than the behaviour of the latter. While the multitude destroyed churches, pulled down monasteries, broke the images used in

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these tumults, a powerful army was sent from *Spain*, under the command of the duke of ALVA, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derived its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of WILLIAM of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the succours of *England* and *France*, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke. And no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in *Switzerland*, was established in the United Provinces [p]; and, at the same time, an universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of *Rome*, or embraced the Reformation in another form [q], provided still that they made no attempts against the autho-

public worship, abused the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand enormities, the effects of furious resentment and brutish rage; the nobility and more opulent citizens kept within the bounds of moderation and prudence. Though justly exasperated against a despotic and cruel government, they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Nay, many of them united their councils and forces with those of the governors (the dukes of *Parma*) to restrain the seditious and turbulent spirit of the people. The prince of Orange and count Egmont (whose memories will live for ever in the grateful remembrance of the Dutch nation, and be dear to all the lovers of heroic patriotism and sacred liberty throughout the world) signalized their moderation upon this occasion, and were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their opposition to the government proceeded from the dictates of humanity and justice, and not from a spirit of licentiousness and rebellion; and such was their influence and authority among the people, that, had the imperious court of *Spain* condescended to make any reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have been again restored, and the affections of the people entirely regained. See LE CLERC, *Histoire des Prov. Un.* livr. i. p. 18.

[p] In the year 1573.

[q] It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman catholics, and that which the *Anabaptists*, *Lutherans*, and other protestant sects, enjoyed. They were all indiscriminately excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom the churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.

city

ricity of the government, or the tranquillity of the public [r].

XIII. The Reformation made a considerable progress in *Spain* and *Italy* soon after the rupture between LUTHER and the Roman pontiff. In all the provinces of *Italy*, but more especially in the territories of *Venice*, *Tuscany*, and *Naples*, the religion of *Rome* lost ground, and great numbers of persons, of all ranks and orders, expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of *Naples* in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were BERNARD OCHINO and PETER MARTYR, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of CHARLES V, and his viceroy DON PEDRO DI TOLEDO [s]. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody *inquisitors*, who spread the marks of their usual barbarity through the greatest part of *Italy*. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of *Rome*, at least in external appearance. But the terrors of the *inquisition*, which frightened back into the profession of popery several protestants in other parts of *Italy*, could not penetrate into the kingdom of *Naples*, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the Roman pontiffs engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of *inquisition*, or even visiting *inquisitors* [t].

[r] See a farther account of this matter in GERARD BRANDT'S *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, of which there was a French abridgment published at *Amsterdam*, in three volumes 12mo, in the year 1730. The original work was published in Dutch, in four volumes 4to.

[s] See GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 108. — VITA GALEACII in *Museo Helvetico*, tom. ii. p. 524.

[t] It was an attempt to introduce a Roman *inquisitor* into the city of *Naples*, that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which

The eyes of several persons in *Spain* were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which the controversies between LUTHER and *Rome* had excited in *Europe*, but even by those very divines, which CHARLES V had brought with him into *Germany*, to combat the pretended *heresy* of the reformers. For these Spanish doctors imbibed this heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less, on their return home, as appears evidently from several circumstances [u]. But the *inquisition*,

Dr. MOSHEIM attributes in this section to the pulpit discourses of OCHINO and MARTYR; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the Reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and converted many secretly, without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at *Naples*, declared, that *he preached with such spirit and devotion as was sufficient to make the very stones weep*. After OCHINO's departure from *Naples*, the disciples he had formed gave private instructions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy TOLEDO, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of MELANCTHON and ERASMUS to be publicly burnt, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies, which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of learning, and, having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired pope PAUL III to send from *Rome* to *Naples* a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation of matters and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of *Naples*. Several other attempts were afterwards made, during the reigns of PHILIP II, III, IV, and CHARLES II, to establish the inquisition in *Naples*; but, by the jealousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At length the emperor CHARLES VI, in the beginning of this present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating to the holy faith, to be tried by any persons, except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries. See GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, livr. xxxii. sect. 2 and 3.—*Modern Univ. History*, vol. xxviii. p. 273. &c. edit. octavo.

[u] This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics that had attended CHARLES V, and followed him into his retirement. No sooner was the breath of that monarch out, than they were put into the inquisition, and were afterwards committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such was the fate of AUGUSTIN CASAL,

which

which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of C E N T.
Naples, reigned triumphant in *Spain*; and by racks, XVI.
 gibbets, stakes, and other such formidable instruments of S E C T. I.
 its method of persuading, soon terrified the people back
 into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had
 of changing a superstitious worship for a rational re-
 ligion [*w*].

XIV. I shall not pretend to dispute with those writers, What judg-
ment we are
to form
concerning
the Refor-
mation and
the means
by which it
was pro-
duced.
 whatever their secret intentions may be, who observe,
 that many unjustifiable proceedings may be charged upon
 some of the most eminent promoters of this great change
 in the state of religion. For every impartial and at-
 tentive observer of the rise and progress of the Reforma-
 tion will ingenuously acknowledge, that wisdom and pru-
 dence did not always attend the transactions of those,
 that were concerned in this glorious cause; that many
 things were done with violence, temerity, and precipita-
 tion; and, what is still worse, that several of the princi-
 pal agents in this great revolution were actuated more
 by the impulse of passions and views of interest, than by
 a zeal for the advancement of true religion. But, on the
 other hand, the wise and candid observer of things will
 own, as a most evident and incontestable truth, that
 many things, which, when stripped of the circumstances
 and motives that attended them, appear to us at this
 time as real crimes, will be deprived of their enormity,
 and even acquire the aspect of noble deeds, if they be
 considered in one point of view with the times and places
 in which they were transacted, and with the frauds and

the emperor's preacher; of CONSTANTINE PONTIUS, his confessor; of
 the learned EGIDIUS, whom he had nominated to the bishopric of *Tortosa*;
 of BARTHOLOMEW DE CARANZA, a Dominican, who had been confessor
 to king PHILIP and queen MARY, with above twenty more of less note.
 All this gave reason to presume that CHARLES V died a protestant. Cer-
 tain it is, that he knew well the corruptions and frauds of the church of
Rome, and the grounds and reasons of the protestant faith; though business,
 ambition, interest, and the prejudices of education, may have blinded him
 for a while, until leisure, retirement, the absence of worldly temptations,
 and the approach of death, removed the veil, and led him to wise and serious
 reflexions. See BURNET's *History of the Reformation*, and the book cited in
 the following note.

[*w*] See GEDDES, his *Spanish Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*,
 tom. i. p. 445.

C E N T. crimes of the Roman pontiffs and their creatures, by
 XVI. which they were occasioned. But after all, in defending
 S E C T. I. the cause of the Reformation, we are under no obligation
 to defend, in all things, the moral characters of its promoters and instruments. These two objects are entirely distinct. The most just and excellent cause may be promoted with low views and from sinister motives, without losing its nature, or ceasing to be just and excellent. The true state of the question here, is, whether the opposition made, by LUTHER and the other reformers, to the Roman pontiff, was founded on just and solid reasons? and this question is entirely independent of the virtues or vices of particular persons [x]. Let many of these persons be supposed as odious, nay, still more detestable, than they are pleased to represent them, provided the cause in which they were embarked be allowed to have been just and good.

☞ [x] The translator has added here some paragraphs, to render more palpable the important observation of the learned author.

A P P E N D I X I.

Concerning the SPIRIT and CONDUCT of the first Reformers, and the charge of ENTHUSIASM (i. e. fanaticism), that has been brought against them by a celebrated Author.

THE candour and impartiality, with which Dr. MOSHEIM represents the transactions of those who were agents and instruments in bringing about the Reformation, are highly laudable. He acknowledges, that imprudence, passion, and even a low self-interest, mingled sometimes their rash proceedings and ignoble motives in this excellent cause; and, in the very nature of things, it could not be otherwise. It is one of the most inevitable consequences of the subordination and connexions of civil society, that many improper instruments and agents are set to work in all great and important revolutions, whether of a religious or political nature. When great men appear in these revolutions, they draw after them their dependants; and the unhappy effects of a party-spirit are unavoidably displayed in the best cause. The subjects follow their prince; the multitude adopt the system of their leaders, without entering into its true spirit, or being judiciously attentive to the proper methods of promoting it; and thus irregular proceedings are employed in the maintenance of the truth. Thus it happened in the important revolution, that delivered a great part of *Europe* from the ignominious yoke of the Roman pontiff. The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight, piety, and learning, who arose to assert the rights of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy, with a multitude of dependants, admirers, and friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified.

Besides; when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitous absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to extremes, generally pass from blind submission to lawless ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and abuse of their undoubted rights. In a word, many things, which appear to us extremely irregular in the conduct and measures of *some* of the instruments of our happy reformation, will be entitled to a certain degree of indulgence, if the spirit of the times, the situation of the contending parties, the barbarous provocations of popery, and the infirmities of human nature, be duly and attentively considered.

The question here is, what was the *spirit* which animated the *first* and *principal reformers*, who arose in times of darkness and despair to deliver oppressed kingdoms from the dominion of *Rome*, and upon what principles a LUTHER, a ZUINGLE, a CALVIN, a MELANCTHON, a BUCER, &c. embarked in the arduous cause of the Reformation? This question, indeed, is not at all necessary to the defence of the Reformation, which rests upon the strong foundations of scripture and reason, and whose excellence is absolutely independent on the virtues of those who took the lead in promoting it. Bad men may be, and often are, embarked in the best causes; as such causes afford the most specious mask to cover mercenary views, or to disguise ambitious purposes. But, until the more than jesuitical and disingenuous PHILIPS resumed the trumpet of calumny [a], even the voice of popery had ceased to attack the moral characters of the leading reformers.

These eminent men were, indeed, attacked from another quarter, and by a much more respectable writer. The truly ingenious Mr. HUME, so justly celebrated as one of the first favourites of the historical Muse, has, in his *History of England*, and more especially in the *History of the houses of TUDOR and STUART*, represented the

[a] See the various answers that were made to this biographer by the ingenious Mr. PYE, the learned Dr. NEVE, and other commendable writers, who have appeared in this controversy.

character and temper of the *first reformers* in a point of view, which undoubtedly shews, that he had not considered them with that close and impartial attention that ought always to precede personal reflexions. He has laid it down as a principle, that SUPERSTITION and ENTHUSIASM are *two species of religion* that stand in *diametrical opposition* to each other; and seems to establish it as a fact, that the *former* is the genius of popery, and the *latter*, the characteristic of the Reformation. Both the *principle* and its *application* must appear extremely singular; and three sorts of persons must be more especially surprised at it.

First, Persons of a philosophical turn, who are accustomed to study human nature, and to describe with precision both its regular and excentric movements, must be surprised to see *superstition* and *fanaticism* [b] represented as opposite and jarring qualities. They have been seen often together, holding with each other a most friendly correspondence; and, indeed, if we consider their nature and their essential characters, their union will appear not only possible, but in some cases natural, if not necessary. *Superstition*, which consists in *false* and *abject* notions of the Deity, in the gloomy and groundless *fears* of invisible beings, and in the absurd rites, that these notions and these fears naturally produce, is certainly at the root of various branches of fanaticism. For what is *fanaticism*, but the visions, illuminations, impulses, and dreams of an over-heated fancy, converted into rules of faith, hope, worship, and practice? This fanaticism, as it springs up in a melancholy or a chearful complexion, assumes a variety of aspects, and its morose and gloomy forms are certainly most congenial with superstition, in its proper sense. It was probably this consideration that led the author of the article *Fanaticism*, in the famous *Dictionnaire Encyclopedique*, published at *Paris*, to define

[b] I use the word *fanaticism* here instead of *enthusiasm*, to prevent all ambiguity; because, as shall be shewn presently, Mr. HUME takes *enthusiasm* in its worst sense, when he applies it to the reformers; and in that sense it is not only equivalent to, but is perfectly synonymous with, fanaticism. Besides, this latter term is used indiscriminately with enthusiasm by this celebrated historian in characterising the Reformation.

it [c] as a blind and passionate zeal, which ariseth from SUPERSTITIOUS opinions, and leads its votaries to commit ridiculous, unjust, and cruel actions, not only without shame, but even with certain internal feelings of joy and comfort; from which the author concludes, that FANATICISM is really nothing more than SUPERSTITION set in motion. This definition unites perhaps too closely these two kinds of false religion, whose enormities have furnished very ill-grounded pretexts for discrediting and misrepresenting the true. It is however a testimony, from one of the pretended oracles of modern philosophy, in favour of the compatibility of fanaticism with superstition. These two principles are evidently distinct; because superstition is, generally speaking, the effect of ignorance, or of a judgment perverted by a sour and splenetic temper; whereas fanaticism is the offspring of an inflamed imagination, and may exist where there is no superstition, i. e. no false or gloomy notions of the Divinity. But though distinct, they are not opposite principles; on the contrary, they lend, on many occasions, mutual strength and assistance to each other.

If persons accustomed to philosophical precision will not relish the maxim of the celebrated writer which I have been now considering, so neither, in the second place, can those who are versed in ecclesiastical history look upon superstition as a more predominant characteristic of popery than fanaticism; and yet this is a leading idea, which is not only visible in many parts of this author's excellent History, but appears to be the basis of all the reflexions he employs, and of all the epithets he uses, in his speculations upon the Romish religion.

And nevertheless it is manifest, that the multitudes of fanatics, which arose in the church of Rome before the Reformation, are truly innumerable; and the operations of fanaticism in that church were, at least, as visible and frequent, as the restless workings of superstition; they went, in short, hand in hand, and united their visions

¹ [c] The words of the original are: *Le fanatisme est un zele aveugle et passionné, qui naît des opinions superstitieuses et fait commettre des actions ridicules, injustes et cruelles, non-seulement sans honte, mais avec une sorte de joie et de consolation. Le fanatisme donc n'est que la superstition mise en mouvement.*

and their terrors in the support of the papacy. It is, more especially, well known, that the greatest part of the monastic establishments (that alternately insulted the benignity of Providence by their austerities, and abused it by their licentious luxury), were originally founded in consequence of pretended illuminations, miraculous dreams, and such like wild delusions of an over-heated fancy. Whenever a new doctrine was to be established, that could augment the authority of the pope, or fill the coffers of the clergy; whenever a new convent was to be erected, there was always a vision or a miracle ready, to facilitate the business; nor must it be imagined, that forgery and imposture were the only agents in this matter;—by no means;—imposture there was; and it was frequently employed; but impostors made use of fanatics; and in return fanatics found impostors, who spread abroad their fame, and turned their visions to profit. Were I to recount, with the utmost simplicity, without the smallest addition of ludicrous embellishment, the extasies, visions, seraphic amours, celestial apparitions, that are said to have shed such an odour of sanctity upon the male and female saints of the Romish church; were I to pass in review the famous *conformities* of St. FRANCIS, the illuminations of St. IGNATIUS, and the enormous cloud of fanatical witnesses that have dishonoured humanity in bearing testimony to popery, this dissertation would become a voluminous history. Let the reader cast an eye upon Dr. MOSHEIM's account of those ages that more immediately preceded the Reformation, and he will see what a number of sects, *purely fanatical*, arose in the bosom of the Romish church.

But this is not all—for it must be carefully observed, that even those extravagant fanatics, who produced such disorders in *Germany* about the commencement of the Reformation, were nursed in the bosom of popery, were professed papists before they adopted the cause of LUTHER, nay, many of them passed directly from popery to fanaticism, without even entering into the outward profession of Lutheranism. It is also to be observed, that besides the fanatics, who exposed themselves to the contempt of the wise upon the public theatre of popery, SECKENDORF speaks of a sect that merits this denomination,

tion, which had spread in the *Netherlands*, before LUTHER raised his voice against popery, and whose members were engaged, by the terror of penal laws, to dissemble their sentiments; nay, even affected a devout compliance with the external rites of the established worship, until religious liberty, introduced by the Reformation, encouraged them to pull off the mask, and propagate their opinions, several of which were licentious and profane.

But, in the *third place*, the friends of the Reformation must naturally be both surprised and displeased to find *enthusiasm*, or *fanaticism*, laid down by Mr. HUME as the character and spirit of its founders and abettors, without any exception, or distinction, made in favour of any one of the reformers. That *fanaticism* was visible in the conduct and spirit of many who embraced the Reformation, is a fact which I do not pretend to deny; and it may be worthy of the reader's curiosity to consider, for a moment, how this came to pass. That religious liberty which the Reformation introduced and granted (in consequence of its essential principles) indiscriminately to all, to learned and unlearned, rendered this eruption of enthusiasm inevitable. It is one of the imperfections annexed to all human things, that our best blessings have their inconveniencies, or, at least, are susceptible of abuse. As liberty is a *natural right*, but not a *discerning principle*, it could not open the door to truth without letting error and delusion come in along with it. If *reason* came forth with dignity, when delivered from the despotism of authority, and the blind servitude of implicit faith; *imagination*, also set free, and less able to bear the prosperous change, came forth likewise, but with a different aspect, and exposed to view the reveries it had been long obliged to conceal.

Thus many fanatical fancies were exhibited, which neither arose from the spirit of the Reformation, nor from the principles of the reformers, but which had been engendered in the bosom of popery, and which the fostering rays of liberty had disclosed; similar, in this, to the enlivening beams of the sun, which fructifies *indiscriminately* the *salutary plant* in the well-cultivated ground, and the *noxious weed* in a rank and neglected soil. And as the Reformation had no such miraculous influence (not to
speak

speak of the imperfection that attended its infancy, and that has not yet entirely been removed from its more advanced stages) as to cure human nature of its infirmities and follies, to convert irregular passions into regular principles, or to turn men into angels before the time, it has still left the field open, both for fanaticism and superstition to sow their *tares* among the *good seed*; and this will probably be the case until the *end of the world*. It is here, that we must seek for the true cause of all that condemnable enthusiasm, that has dishonoured the Christian name, and often troubled the order of civil society, at different periods of time since the Reformation; and for which the Reformation is no more responsible, than a free government is for the weakness or corruption of those who abuse its lenity and indulgence. The Reformation established the sacred and unalienable right of private judgment; but it could not hinder the private judgment of many from being wild and extravagant.

The Reformation, then, which the multiplied enormities of popery rendered so necessary, must be always distinguished from the abuses that might be and were often made of the liberty it introduced. If you ask, indeed, what was the *temper* and *spirit* of the *first* heralds of this happy Reformation, Mr. HUME will tell you, *that they were universally inflamed with the highest enthusiasm*. This assertion, if taken singly, and not compared with other passages relating to the reformers, might be understood in a sense consistent with truth, nay, even honourable to the character of these eminent men. For, if by *enthusiasm* we understand that spirit of ardor, intrepidity, and generous zeal, which leads men to brave the most formidable obstacles and dangers in defence of a cause, whose excellence and importance have made a deep impression upon their minds; the first reformers will be allowed by their warmest friends to have been enthusiasts. This species of *enthusiasm* is a noble affection, when fitly placed and wisely exerted. It is this generous sensibility, this ardent feeling of the *great* and the *excellent*, that forms heroes and patriots; and without it, nothing difficult and arduous, that is attended with danger or prejudice to our temporal interests, can either be attempted with vigour, or executed with success. Nay, had this
ingenious

ingenious writer observed, that the ardor of the first reformers was more or less violent, that it was more or less blended with the warmth and vivacity of human passions; candour would be obliged to avow the charge.

But it is not in any of these points of view, that our eminent historian considers the spirit, temper, and enthusiasm of the first reformers. The enthusiasm he attributes to them is fanaticism in its worst sense. He speaks indeed of the *inflexible intrepidity, with which they braved dangers, torments, and even death itself*; but he calls them *the fanatical and enraged reformers*; he indicates through the whole course of his history fanaticism as the characteristic of the protestant religion and its glorious founders; the terms *protestant fanaticism*—*fanatical churches* are interspersed in various parts of this work; and we never meet with the least appearance of a distinction between the *rational* and *enthusiastic*, the *wise* and *indiscreet* friends of the Reformation. In short, we find a phraseology constantly employed upon this subject, which discovers an intention to confound protestantism with enthusiasm, and to make reformers and fanatics synonymous terms. We are told, that while absurd rites and burthenome superstitions reigned in the Romish church, the reformers were *thrown, by a spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion*; and in another place, that these latter *placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in INWARD VISION, RAPTURE, and EXTACY*. It would be endless to quote the passages in which this representation of things is repeated in a great variety of phrases, and artfully insinuated into the mind of the reader, by dexterous strokes of a seducing pencil; which, though scattered here and there, yet gradually unite their influence on the imagination of an uninstructed and unwary reader, and form imperceptibly an unfavourable impression of that great event, to which we owe at this day our civil and religious liberty, and our deliverance from a yoke of superstitious and barbarous despotism. Protestants in all ages and places are stigmatized by Mr. HUME with very dishonourable titles; and it struck me particularly to see even the generous opposers of the Spanish inquisition in *Holland*, whose proceedings were so moderate and whose complaints were so humble, until the barbarous yoke

yoke of superstition and tyranny became intolerable; it struck me, I say, to see these generous patriots branded with the general character of *bigots*. This is certainly a severe appellation; and were it applied with much more equity than it is, I think it would still come with an ill grace from a lover of freedom, from a man who lives and writes with security, under the auspicious shade of that very liberty, which the Reformation introduced, and for which the Belgic heroes (or *bigots*—if we must call them so) shed their blood. I observe with pain, that the phraseology employed perpetually by Mr. HUME, on similar occasions, seems to discover a keen dislike of every opposition made to power in favour of the Reformation. Nay, upon the too general principle which this eminent writer has diffused through his history, we shall be obliged to brand with the opprobrious mark of fanaticism, those generous friends of civil and religious liberty, who, in the Revolution in 1688, opposed the measures of a popish prince and an arbitrary government; and to rank the BURNETS, TILLOTSONS, STILLINGFLEETS, and other *immortal* ornaments of the protestant name, among the enthusiastic tribe; it is a question, whether even a BOYLE, a NEWTON, or a LOCKE, will escape a censure, which is lavished without mercy and without distinction.—But my present business is with the *first reformers*, and to them I return.

Those who more especially merit that title were LUTHER, ZUINGLE, CALVIN, MELANCTHON, BUCER, MARTYR, BULLINGER, BEZA, OECOLAMPADIUS, and others. Now these were *all* men of learning, who came forth into the field of controversy (in which the fate of future ages, with respect to liberty, was to be decided) with a kind of arms that did not at all give them the aspect of persons agitated by the impulse or seduced by the delusions of fanaticism. They pretended not to be called to the work they undertook by visions, or internal illuminations and impulses;—they never attempted to work miracles, nor pleaded a Divine commission;—they taught no new religion, nor laid claim to any extraordinary vocation;—they respected government, practised and taught submission to civil rulers, and desired only the liberty of that conscience, which God has made free,
and

and which ceases to be conscience if it be not free.— They maintained, that the faith of Christians was to be determined by the word of God alone;—they had recourse to reason and argument, to the rules of sound criticism, and to the authority and light of history.— They translated the scriptures into the popular languages of different countries, and appealed to them as the only test of religious truth. They exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to search the scriptures, to break asunder the bonds of ignorant prejudice and lawless authority, and to assert that liberty of conscience to which they had an unalienable right, as reasonable beings. Mr. HUME himself acknowledges, that they offered to submit *all religious doctrines to private judgment, and exhorted every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him.* In short, it was their great and avowed purpose to oppose the gross corruptions and the spiritual tyranny of Rome[d], of which Mr. HUME himself complains with a just indignation, and which he censures in as keen and vehement terms as those which were used by LUTHER and CALVIN in their warmest moments.

I have already insinuated, and I acknowledge it here again, that the zeal of the reformers was sometimes intemperate; but I cannot think this circumstance sufficient to justify the aspersions of *Fanaticism*, which is cast both on the spirit of the Reformation and the principal agents concerned in it. A man may be over-zealous in the advancement of, what he supposes to be, the true religion, without being entitled to the denomination of a *fanatic*; unless we depart from the usual sense of this word, which is often enough employed, to have acquired, before this time, a determinate signification. The intemperate zeal of the reformers was the result of that ardour, which takes place in all divisions and parties, that are founded upon objects of real or supposed importance; and it may be affirmed, that, in such circumstances, the most generous minds, filled with a persuasion of

[d] See the sensible and judicious *Letters on Mr. HUME's History of Great-Britain* (such is the title), that were published at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1756; and in which some points, which I have barely mentioned here, are enlarged upon, and illustrated in an ample and satisfactory manner.

the goodness of their end and of the uprightness of their intentions, are the most liable to transgress the exact bounds of moderation, and to adopt measures, which, in the calm hour of deliberate reflexion, they themselves would not approve. In all great divisions, the warmth of natural temper,—the provocations of unjust and violent opposition,—a spirit of sympathy, which connects, in some cases, the most dissimilar characters, renders the mild violent, and the phlegmatic warm—nay, frequently the pride of conquest, which mingles itself, imperceptibly, with the best principles and the most generous views, all these produce or nourish an intemperate zeal; and this zeal is, in some cases, almost inevitable. On the other hand, it may be suspected, that some writers, and Mr. HUME among others, may have given too high colours to their descriptions of this intemperate zeal. There is a passage of Sir ROBERT COTTON, that has much meaning, “most men (*says he*) grew to be frozen “in zeal and benumbed, so that whosoever pretended “a little *spark of earnestness*, he seemed no less than red “fire hot, in comparison of the other.”

Nothing can be more foreign from my temper and sentiments, than to plead the cause of an excessive zeal, more especially, every kind of zeal that approaches to a spirit of intolerance and persecution ought to be regarded with aversion and horror by all who have at heart the interests of genuine Christianity, and the happiness of civil society. There may be, nevertheless, cases, in which a zeal (not that breathes a spirit of persecution, but) that mounts to a certain degree of intemperance, may be not only inevitable, but useful; nay, not only *useful*, but *necessary*. This assertion I advance almost against my will—because it is susceptible of great and dangerous abuse—the assertion however is true, though the cases must be singularly important and desperate to which such zeal may be applied. It has been observed, that the Reformation was one of these cases, and, all things attentively considered, the observation appears to be entirely just; and the violence of expression and vehement measures employed by some of the reformers, *might have been* (I do not say that they *really were*) as much the effect of provident reflexion, as of natural

fervour and resentment. To a calculating head, which considered closely, in these times of corruption and darkness, the strength of the court of *Rome*, the luxury and despotism of the pontiffs, the ignorance and licentiousness of the clergy, the superstition and stupidity of the people; in a word, the deep root which the papacy had gained through all these circumstances combined, what was the first thought that must naturally have occurred? No doubt, the improbability, that cool philosophy, dispassionate reason and affectionate remonstrances would ever triumph over these multiplied and various supports of popery. And, if a calculating head must have judged in this manner, a generous heart, which considered the blessings that must arise upon mankind with religious liberty and a reformation of the church, would naturally be excited to apply, even, a violent remedy if that were *necessary*, to remove such a desperate and horrible disease. It would really seem, that LUTHER acted on such a view of things. He began mildly, and did not employ the fire of his zeal, before he saw that it was essential to the success of his cause. Whoever looks into Dr. MOSHEIM's history, or any other impartial account of the XVIth century, will find, that LUTHER's opposition to the infamous traffic of indulgences was carried on, at first, in the most submissive strain, by humble remonstrances, addressed to the pope, and the most eminent prelates of the church. These remonstrances were answered, not only by the despotic voice of authority, but also by opprobrious invectives, perfidious plots against his person, and the terror of penal laws. Even under these he maintained his tranquillity; and his conduct at the famous diet of *Worms*, though resolute and steady, was nevertheless both respectful and modest. But when all gentle measures proved ineffectual; then, indeed, he acted with redoubled vigour, and added a new degree of warmth and impetuosity to his zeal; and (I repeat it) reflexion might have dictated those animated proceedings, which were owing, perhaps, merely to his resentment, and the natural warmth of his temper inflamed by opposition. Certain it is, at least, that neither the elegant satires of ERASMUS (had he even been a friend to the cause of liberty) nor the timid remonstrances of the gentle

MELANCTHON

MELANCTHON (who was really such) would ever have been sufficient to bring about a reformation of the church. The former made many *laugh*, the latter made some *reason*; but neither of the two could make them *act*, or set them in motion. In such a crisis, bold speech and ardent resolution were necessary to produce that happy change in the face of religion, which has crowned with inestimable blessings one part of *Europe*, and has been productive of many advantages even to the other, which censures it.

As to CALVIN, every one, who has any acquaintance with history, knows how he set out in promoting the Reformation. It was by a work composed with a classic elegance of style; and which, though tinged with the scholastic theology of the times, breathes an uncommon spirit of good sense and moderation. This work was the *Institutes of the Christian religion*, in which the learned writer shews, that the doctrine of the reformers was founded in scripture and reason. Nay, one of the designs of this book was to shew, that the reformers ought not to be confounded with certain *fanatics*, who, about the time of the Reformation, sprung from the bosom of the church of *Rome*, and excited tumults and commotions in several places. The French monarch (FRANCIS I) to cover with a specious pretext his barbarous persecution of the friends of the Reformation, and to prevent the resentment of the protestants in *Germany*, with whom it was his interest to be on good terms, alleged, that his severity fell, *only*, upon a sect of enthusiasts, who, under the title of *Anabaptists*, substituted their visions in the place of the doctrines and declarations of the Holy Scriptures. To vindicate the reformers from this reproach, CALVIN wrote the book now under consideration; and though the theology that reigns in it be chargeable with some defects, yet it is as remote from the spirit and complexion of fanaticism, as any thing can be. Nor indeed is this spirit visible in any of the writings of CALVIN that I have perused. His commentary upon the Old and New Testament, is a production that will always be esteemed, on account of its elegant simplicity, and the evident marks it bears of an unprejudiced and impartial inquiry into the plain sense of the sacred

writings, and of sagacity and penetration in the investigation of it.

If we were to pass in review the writings of the other eminent reformers, whose names have been already mentioned, we should find abundant matter to justify them in the same respect. They were men of letters, nay, several of them men of taste for the age in which they lived; they cultivated the study of languages, history, and criticism, and applied themselves with indefatigable industry to these studies, which, of all others, are the least adapted to excite or nourish a spirit of *fanaticism*. They had, indeed, their errors and prejudices; nor perhaps were they few in number; but who is free from the same charge? We have ours too, though they may turn on a different set of objects. Their theology favoured somewhat of the pedantry and jargon of the schools;—how could it be otherwise, considering the dismal state of philosophy at that period? The advantages we enjoy above them, give them, at least, a title to our candour and indulgence; perhaps to our gratitude, as the instruments who prepared the way, through which these advantages have been conveyed to us. To conclude, let us regret their infirmities; let us reject their errors; let us even condemn any instances of ill-judged severity and violence they may have been chargeable with;—but let us never forget, that, through perils and obstacles almost unsurmountable, they opened the path to that religious liberty, which we cannot too highly esteem, nor be too careful to improve to rational and worthy purposes.

SECTION II.

The GENERAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

I. **T**HE Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may give C E N T. credit to their historians, exerted themselves, XVI. with the greatest vigour and success, in the S E C T. II. propagation of the Gospel among the darkened nations [a]. And it must, indeed, be confessed, that they communicated some notions, such as they were, of the Christian religion to the inhabitants of *America*, to those parts of *Africa* where they carried their arms, and to the islands and maritime provinces of *Asia*, which they reduced under their dominion. It is also true, that considerable numbers of these savage people, who had hitherto lived either under the bondage of the most extravagant superstitions, or in a total ignorance of any object of religious worship, embraced, at least in outward appearance, the doctrines of the Gospel. But when we consider the methods of conversion that were employed by the Spanish missionaries among these wretched nations, the barbarous laws and inhuman tortures that were used to force them into the profession of Christianity; when it is considered, farther, that the denomination of Christians was conferred upon such of those poor wretches as discovered a blind and excessive veneration for their stupid instructors, and were able, by certain gestures and the repetition of a little jargon, to perform a few superstitious rites and ceremonies; then, instead of rejoicing at, we shall be tempted to lament, such a propagation of the gospel, and to behold the labours of such miserable apo-

[a] See JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU, *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 420. All the relations given by this eloquent writer (who was afterwards created bishop of Sisteron) are taken from the Portuguese historians.—The other writers who have cast light upon this part of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Salutar*, *Evangelii toti orbi exorient*, cap. 42, 43. 48 and 49.

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The zeal of
the Roman
pontiffs in
the propa-
gation of
Christianity.

ffles with indignation and contempt. Such is the judgment passed upon these missionaries, not only by those whom the church of *Rome* places in the list of *heretics*, but also by many of the most pious and eminent of her own doctors, in *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*.

II. When the Roman pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the Reformation, which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in *Europe*, they turned their lordly views towards the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous than ever about the propagation of the gospel among the nations that lay yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in *Europe*, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the title of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society, which, in the year 1540, took the denomination of *jesuits*, or, *the company of JESUS*, seemed every way proper to assist the court of *Rome* in the execution of this extensive design. And accordingly, from their first rise, this peculiar charge was given them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the Roman pontiff, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should fix for the exercise of their ministry [b]. The many histories and relations

[b] When the fanatic IGNATIUS first solicited the confirmation of his order by the Roman pontiff, PAUL III, the learned and worthy cardinal GUIDICIONI opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of IGNATIUS, who, changing the article of his institution, in which he had promised obedience to the pope with certain restrictions, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn vow of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience to the Roman pontiff. This change produced the desired effect, and made the popes look upon the jesuits as the chief support of their authority; and hence the zeal which *Rome* has ever shewn for that order, and that even at present, when their secret enormities have been brought to light, and procured the suppression of their society in *Portugal* and in *France*, where their power was so extensive. It is indeed remarkable, that IGNATIUS and his company, in the very same charter of their order in which they declare their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of *Rome*, promise a like implicit and unlimited al-

which

which mention the labours, perils, and exploits of that prodigious multitude of jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly shew, with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the Roman pontiffs [c]. And their labours would have undoubtedly crowned them with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident, from the most authentic records, that the greatest part of these new apostles had more in view the promoting the ambitious views of *Rome*, and the advancing the interests of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honour of its divine author [d]. It may also be affirmed, from records of the highest credit and authority, that the *inquisition* erected by the jesuits at *Goa*, and the penal laws whose terrors they employed so freely in propagation of the gospel, contributed much more than their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity [e]. The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had, for a long time, been not only cooled, but almost totally extinguished, was animated anew by the example of the jesuits. And several other religious orders, that slumbered in their cells, were roused from their lethargy, if not by a principle of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.

III. Of all the jesuits who distinguished themselves by their zealous and laborious attempts to extend the limits of the church, none acquired a more shining reputation than FRANCIS XAVIER, who is commonly called the *Apostle of the Indians* [f]. An undaunted resolution, and

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The propa-
gation of
the gospel
in India,
Japan, and
China.

legiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of serving two absolute masters, whose commands may be often contradictory. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed at *Utrecht* in 1741, tom. i. p. 77, &c.

[c] See JO. ALB. FABRICII *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorients*, cap. xxxiii. p. 550.

[d] B. CHRIST. EBERH. WEISMANNI *Oratio de virtutibus et vitiis Mission. Romanar. in Oratt. ejus Academ.* p. 286.

[e] See the *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 171. 207.

[f] The late king of *Portugal* obtained for XAVIER, or rather for his memory, the title of *Protector of the Indies*, from BENEDICT XIV, in the year 1747. See the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tom. xlii. Pref. p. 36. The body of this sainted missionary lies interred at

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no small degree of genius and sagacity, rendered this famous missionary one of the properest persons that could be employed in such an arduous task. Accordingly, in the year 1522, he set sail for the Portuguese settlements in *India*, and, in a short space of time, spread the knowledge of the Christian, or, to speak more properly, of the Popish religion, over a great part of the continent, and in several of the islands of that remote region. From thence, in the year 1529, he passed into *Japan*, and laid there, with amazing rapidity, the foundations of the famous church, which flourished, during so many years, in that vast empire. His indefatigable zeal prompted him to attempt the conversion of the Chinese, and with this view he embarked for that extensive and powerful kingdom, in sight of which he ended his days in the year 1552 [g]. After his death, other members of his insinuating order penetrated into *China*. The chief of these was MATTHEW RICCI, an Italian, who, by his skill in the Mathematics, became so acceptable to the Chinese nobility, and even to their emperor, that he obtained both for himself and his associates the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrines of the gospel [h]. This famous missionary may, therefore, be considered as the parent and founder of the Christian churches, which, though often dispersed and tossed to and fro by the storms of persecution, subsist, nevertheless, still in *China* [i].

The attempts of the protestants towards the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts.

IV. The jurisdiction and territories of those princes who had thrown off the papal yoke, being confined within the limits of *Europe*, the churches that were un-

Goa, where it is worshipped with the highest marks of devotion. There is also a magnificent church at *Cotati* dedicated to XAVIER, to whom the inhabitants of that Portuguese settlement pay the most devout tribute of veneration and worship. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. tom. iii. p. 85. 89. 203. tom. v. p. 38—48. tom. vi. p. 78.

[g] See the writers enumerated by FARRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. cap. xxxix. p. 677. Add to these, LAFITAU, *Histoire des Decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 419. 424. tom. iv. p. 63. 102.—*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 92.

[h] J. B. DU HALDE, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 84. edit. Holland.

[i] It appears however, that before the arrival of RICCI in *China*, some of the Dominicans had already been there, though to little purpose. See LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1354.

der their protection could contribute but little to the propagation of the gospel in those distant regions of which we have been speaking. It is, however, recorded in history, that, in the year 1556, fourteen protestant missionaries were sent from *Geneva* to convert the Americans [k], though it is not well known who was the promoter of this pious design, nor with what success it was carried into execution. The English also, who, towards the conclusion of this century, sent colonies into the northern parts of *America*, transplanted with them the reformed religion, which they themselves professed; and, as their possessions were extended and multiplied from time to time, their religion also made a considerable progress among that rough and uncivilized people. We learn, moreover, that about this time the Swedes exerted their religious zeal in converting to Christianity many of the inhabitants of *Finland* and *Lapland*, of whom a considerable number had hitherto retained the impious and extravagant superstitions of their Pagan ancestors.

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V. It does not appear, from authentic records of history, that the sword of persecution was drawn against the Gospel, or any public opposition made to the progress of Christianity, during this century. And it would betray a great ignorance, both of the situation, opinions, and maxims of the Turks, to imagine, that the war they waged against the Christians was carried on upon religious principles, or with a view to maintain and promote the doctrines of MAHOMET. On the other hand, it is certain, that there lay concealed, in different parts of *Europe*, several persons, who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general, and, in a more especial manner, against the religion of the gospel; and who, both in their writings and in private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and instilled their odious principles into weak, unsteady, and credulous minds. In this pernicious and unhappy class are generally placed several of

The enemies of Christianity.

[k] PICTETI *Oratio de Trophæis Christi*, in *Orat. ejus*, p. 570 — There is no doubt, but that the doctors here mentioned were those which the illustrious admiral COLIGNI invited into *France*, when, in the year 1555, he had formed the project of sending a colony of protestants into *Brasil* and *America*. See CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tom. i. p. 22.

C E N T. the Peripatetic philosophers, who adorned *Italy* by their
 XVI. erudition, and particularly POMPONATIUS; several
 S E C T. II. French wits and philosophers, such as JOHN BODIN,
 RABELAIS, MONTAGNE, BONAVENTURE DES PERIERES,
 DOLET, CHARRON; several Italians, at whose head ap-
 pears the Roman pontiff, LEO X, followed by PETER
 BEMBO, POLITIAN, JORDANO BRUNO, OCHINO; and
 some Germans, such as THEOPHRASTUS PARACELUS,
 NICHOLAS TAURELLUS, and others [1]. It is even re-
 ported, that, in certain provinces of *France* and *Italy*,
 schools were erected, from whence whole swarms of these
 impious doctors soon issued out to deceive the simple and
 unwary. This accusation will not be rejected, in the
 lump, by such as are acquainted with the spirit and ge-
 nius of these times, nor can it be said with truth, that
 all the persons, charged with this heavy reproach, were
 entirely guiltless. It is, nevertheless, certain, on the
 other hand, that, upon an accurate and impartial exami-
 nation of this matter, it will appear, that the accusation
 brought against many of them is entirely groundless;
 and that, with respect to several, who may be worthy of
 censure in a certain degree, their errors are less pernicious
 and criminal, than they are uncharitably or rashly repre-
 sented to be.

The public
 advantages
 that arose
 from the
 restoration
 of letters.

VI. It is, at the same time, evident, that, in this cen-
 tury, the arts and sciences were carried to a degree of per-
 fection unknown to preceding ages; and from this happy
 renovation of learning, the European churches derived
 the most signal and inestimable advantages, which they
 also transmitted to the most remote and distant nations.
 The benign influence of true science, and its tendency to
 improve both the form of religion and the institutions of
 civil policy, were perceived by many of the states and
 princes of *Europe*. Hence large sums were expended,
 and great zeal and industry employed, in promoting the
 progress of knowledge, by founding and encouraging
 literary societies, by protecting and exciting a spirit of
 emulation among men of genius, and by annexing distin-

[1] See REIMANNI *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum*. Hildesf. 1725, in 8vo.
 —JO. FRANC. BUDDEUS, *Thesibus de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i.—
Dictionnaire de BAYLE, passim.

guished

guished honours and advantages to the culture of the C E N T. sciences. And it is particularly worthy of observation, XVI. that this was the period, when the wise and salutary law, S E C T. II. which excludes ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred functions of the Christian ministry, acquired, at length, that force which it still retains in the greatest part of the christian world. There still remained, however, some seeds of that ancient discord between religion and philosophy, that had been sown and fomented by ignorance and fanaticism; and there were found, both among the friends and enemies of the Reformation, several well-meaning, but inconsiderate men, who, in spite of common sense, maintained with more vehemence and animosity than ever, that vital religion and piety could never flourish until it was totally separated from learning and science, and nourished by the holy simplicity that reigned in the primitive ages of the church.

VII. The first rank in the literary world was now held by those, who consecrated their studious hours and their critical sagacity to the publication, correction, and illustration of the most famous Greek and Latin authors of ancient times, to the study of antiquity and the languages, and to the culture of eloquence and poetry. We see by the productions of this age (that yet remain, and continue to excite the admiration of the learned) that in all the provinces of *Europe* these branches of literature were cultivated, with a kind of enthusiasm, by such as were most distinguished by their taste and genius; nay, what is still more extraordinary (and perhaps not a little extravagant) the welfare of the church and the prosperity of the state was supposed to depend upon the improvement of these branches of erudition, which were considered as the very essence of true and solid knowledge. If such encomiums were swelled beyond the bounds of truth and wisdom by enthusiastical philologists, it is, nevertheless, certain, that the species of learning, here under consideration, was of the highest importance, as it opened the way that led to the treasures of solid wisdom, to the improvement of genius, and thus undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to deliver both reason and religion from the prepossessions of ignorance and the servitude of superstition.

The flourishing state of philosophy.

C E N T. superstition [*m*]. And, therefore, we ought not to be
 XVI. surprised, when we meet with persons who exaggerate
 S E C T. II. the merit, and dwell beyond measure on the praises, of
 those, who were our first guides from the regions of
 darkness and error into the luminous paths of evidence
 and truth.

The state of
 philosophy.

VIII. Though the lovers of philology and Belles
 Lettres were much superior in number to those who
 turned their principal views to the study of philosophy,
 yet the latter were far from being contemptible either
 in point of number or capacity. The philosophers were
 divided into two classes, of which the one was wholly
 absorbed in contemplation, while the other was em-
 ployed in the investigation of truth, and endeavoured by
 experience, as well as by reasoning, to trace out the
 laws and operations of Nature. The former were sub-
 divided into two sects, of which the one followed cer-
 tain leaders, while the other, unrestrained by the dic-
 tates of authority, struck out a new way for themselves,
 following freely their own inventions. Those who sub-
 mitted to the direction of certain philosophical guides,
 enlisted themselves under the standards of ARISTOTLE,
 or those of PLATO, who continued still to have many
 admirers, especially in *Italy*. Nor were the followers of
 ARISTOTLE agreed among themselves; they all acknow-
 ledged the Stagirite as their chief, but they followed him
 through very different paths. Some were for retaining
 the ancient method of proceeding in philosophical pur-

 [*m*] Many vehement debates have been carried on concerning the
 respective merit of *Literature* and *Philosophy*. But these debates are almost
 as absurd, as a comparison that should be made between the *means* and the *end*,
 the *instrument* and its *effect*. *Literature* is the key by which we often open
 the treasures of wisdom, both human and divine. But as the sordid miser
 converts absurdly the means into an end, and acquires a passion for the shin-
 ing metal, considered abstractedly from the purposes it was designed to serve,
 so the pedantic philologist erects literature into an independent science, and
 contemns the divine treasures of philosophy, which it was designed both to
 discover and to illustrate. Hence that wretched tribe of *word-catchers*
that live on syllables (as POPE, I think, happily expresses their tasteless pur-
 suits), who make the republic of letters groan under their commentaries,
 annotations, various readings, &c. and forget that the knowledge of *words*
 and languages was intended to lead us to the improvement of the mind and to
 the knowledge of *things*.

suits,

suits, which their doctors, falsely, called the Peripatetic system. Others pleaded for the pure and unmixed philosophy of ARISTOTLE, and recommended the writings of that Grecian sage as the source of wisdom, and as the system, which was most adapted, when properly illustrated and explained, to the instruction of youth. A third sort of Aristotelians, who differed equally from those now mentioned, and of whom the celebrated MELANCTHON was the chief, pursued another method. They extracted the marrow out of the lucubrations of ARISTOTLE, illustrated it by the aids of genuine literature and the rules of good criticism, and corrected it by the dictates of right reason and the doctrines and principles of true religion.

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Of those, who struck out a path to themselves in the regions of philosophy, without any regard to that which had been opened by ancient sages, and pursued by their followers, CARDAN [n], TELESIOUS [o], and CAM-

☞ [n] CARDAN was a man of a bold, irregular, enterprising genius, who, by a wild imagination, was led into the study of astrology and magic, by which he excited the astonishment and attracted the veneration of the multitude, while his real merit as a philosopher was little known. He was accused of atheism, but seems much rather chargeable with superstition. His life and character was an amazing mixture of wisdom and folly, and nothing can give a more unfavourable idea of his temper and principles, than the hideous portrait he has drawn of himself in his book *De genituris*. His knowledge of physic and mathematics was considerable, and his notions of natural philosophy may be seen in his famous book *De subtilitate et varietate rerum*, in which some important truths and discoveries are mixed with the most fanatical visions, and the most extravagant and delirious effusions of mystical folly. See the ample and judicious account that has been given of the character and philosophy of this writer (whose voyage to England and Scotland is well known) by the learned BRUCKER, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part II. lib. i. cap. iii.

☞ [o] This philosopher, less known than the former, was born A. D. 1508, at *Cosensa*, in the kingdom of Naples, and was the restorer of the philosophy formerly taught by PARMENIDES, upon whose principles he built a new system, or, at least, a system which appeared new, by the elegant connexion which TELESIOUS gave to its various parts, and the arguments he used to maintain and support it against the philosophy of ARISTOTLE. It was the vague and uncertain method of reasoning, which the Stagirite had introduced into natural philosophy, that engaged TELESIOUS to compose his famous book *De principiis rerum naturalium*. In this work, after having refuted the visionary principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, he substitutes

CEN T. PANELLA [p] hold, deservedly, the first rank, as they
 XVI.
 SECT. II. were, undoubtedly, men of superior genius, though too
 much addicted to the suggestions and visions of an irregular fancy. To these may be added PETER RAMUS, that subtle and ingenious French philosopher, who, by attempting to substitute in the place of ARISTOTLE's logic, a method of reasoning more adapted to the use of rhetoric and the improvement of eloquence, excited such a terrible uproar in the Gallic schools. Nor must we omit here the mention of THEOPHRASTUS PARACELUS, who, by an assiduous observation of nature, by a great number of experiments indefatigably repeated, and by

in their place, such as are immediately derived from the testimony of the senses, even *heat and cold*, from which, like PARMENIDES, he deduces the nature, origin, qualities, and changes of all material beings. To these two principles he adds a third, *viz. Matter*, and on these three builds, with dexterity enough, his physical system; for a part of which he seems also to have been indebted to a book of PLUTARCH, *De primo frigido*. It will be entertaining to the philosophical reader to compare this work of TELESIO, with Lord BACON's physical account of the story of CUPID and CORYDON, in his book *De principiis et originibus*, &c.

☞ [p] CAMPANELLA, a native of *Calabria*, made a great noise in the seventeenth century, by his innovations in philosophy. Shocked at the atheism and absurdities of the Aristotelian system, he acquired early a contempt of it, and turned his pursuits towards something more solid, perusing the writings of all the ancient sages, and comparing them with the great volume of Nature, to see whether the pretended copies resembled the original. The sufferings that this man endured are almost incredible; but they were said to be inflicted on him in consequence of the treasonable practices that were imputed to him, partly against the court of *Spain*, and partly against the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had formed the design of delivering into the hands of the Turks. He was freed from his prison and tortures by the interposition of Pope URBAN VIII, who gave him particular marks of his favour and esteem; and, finding that he was not safe at *Rome*, had him conveyed to *Paris*, where he was honoured with the protection of LEWIS XIII and Cardinal RICHELIEU, and ended his days in peace. As to the writings and philosophy of this great man, they are tinged, indeed, with the colour of the times, and bear, in many places, the marks of a chimerical and undisciplined imagination; but, among a few visionary notions, they contain a great number of important truths. He undertook an entire reformation of philosophy, but was unequal to the task. For an account of his principles of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, see BRUCKER's *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part II. p. 127, &c. He was accused of atheism, but unjustly; he was also accused of suggesting cruel measures against the protestants, and not without reason.

applying

applying the penetrating force of fire [q] to discover the first principles or elements of bodies, endeavoured to cast new light and evidence on the important science of natural philosophy. As the researches of this industrious inquirer into nature excited the admiration of all, his example was consequently followed by many; and hence arose a new sect of philosophers, who assumed the denomination of *Theosophists* [r], and who, placing little confidence in the decisions of human reason, or the efforts of speculation, attributed all to divine illumination and repeated experience.

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IX. This revolution in philosophy and literature, together with the spirit of emulation that animated the different sects or classes into which the learned men of this age were divided, produced many happy effects of various kinds. It, in a more particular manner, brought into disrepute, though it could not at once utterly eradicate, that intricate, barbarous, and insipid method of teaching theology, that had universally prevailed hitherto in all the schools and pulpits of Christendom. The sacred writings, which, in the preceding ages, had been either entirely neglected, or very absurdly explained, were now much more consulted and respected in the debates and writings of the Christian doctors than they had formerly been; the sense and language of the inspired writers were more carefully studied and more accurately unfolded; the doctrines and precepts of religion taught with more method, connexion, and perspicuity; and that dry, barren, and unaffecting language, which

The method
of teaching
theology
improved.

[q] The principal merit of PARACELSUS consisted in inventing, or at least restoring from oblivion and darkness the important science of *Chemistry*, giving it a regular form, reducing it into a connected system, and applying it most successfully to the art of healing, which was the peculiar profession of this philosopher, whose friends and enemies have drawn him in the falsest colours. His application to the study of *Magic*, which he treats of in the tenth volume of his works, under the denomination of the *Sagacious Philosophy*, is a circumstance dishonourable to his memory, and nothing can discover a more total absence of common sense and reason than his discourses on that subject. As to his philosophical system, it is so obscure and so contradictory, that we shall not pretend to delineate it here.

[r] See, for an ample account of the lives, transactions, and systems of these philosophers, BRUCKER's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

the

C E N T. the ancient schoolmen affected so much in their theological compositions, was wholly exploded by the wiser part of the divines of this century. It must not however be imagined, that this reformation of the schools was so perfect, as to leave no new improvements to be made in succeeding ages; this, indeed, was far from being the case. Much imperfection yet remained in the method of treating theology, and many things, which had great need of a correcting hand, were left untouched. It would, nevertheless, be either an instance of ingratitude, or a mark of great ignorance, to deny this age the honour of having begun what was afterwards more happily finished, and of having laid the foundations of that striking superiority, which the divines of succeeding ages obtained over those of ancient times.

And the genius and spirit of the Christian religion better explained.

X. Nor did the improvements, which have been now mentioned, as proceeding from the restoration of letters and philosophy, extend only to the method of conveying theological instruction, but purified moreover the science of theology itself. For the true nature, genius, and design of the Christian religion, which even the most learned and pious doctors of antiquity had but imperfectly comprehended, were now unfolded with evidence and precision, and drawn, like truth, from an abyss in which they had hitherto lain too much concealed. It is true, the influence of error was far from being totally suppressed, and many false and absurd doctrines are still maintained and propagated in the Christian world. But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that the Christian societies, whose errors, at this day, are the most numerous and extravagant, have much less absurd and perverse notions of the nature and design of the gospel, and the duties and obligations of those that profess it, than were entertained by those doctors of antiquity, who ruled the church with an absolute authority, and were considered as the chief oracles of theology. It may farther be observed, that the Reformation contributed much to soften and civilize the manners of many nations, who, before that happy period, were sunk in the most savage stupidity, and carried the most rude and unsociable aspect. It must indeed be confessed, that a variety of circumstances combined to produce that lenity of character, and that milder

milder temperature of manners, maxims, and actions, that discovered themselves gradually; and increased, from day to day, in the greatest part of the European nations after the period that LUTHER rendered so famous. It is nevertheless evident, beyond all contradiction, that the disputes concerning religion, and the accurate and rational inquiries into the doctrines and duties of Christianity, to which these disputes gave rise, had a great tendency to eradicate out of the minds of men that ferocity that had been so long nourished by the barbarous suggestions of unmanly superstition. It is also certain, that at the very dawn of this happy revolution in the state of Christianity, and even before its salutary effects were manifested in all their extent, pure religion had many sincere and fervent votaries, though they were concealed from public view by the multitudes of fanatics, with which they were surrounded on all sides.

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S E C T. II.

S E C T I O N III.

The PARTICULAR HISTORY of the CHURCH.

P A R T I.

The HISTORY of the ANCIENT CHURCHES.

C H A P T E R I.

The HISTORY of the ROMAN or LATIN CHURCH.

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PART I.

The Roman
pontiff,—
how elected.

THE Roman or Latin church is a system of government, whose jurisdiction extends to a great part of the known world, though its authority has been circumscribed within narrower limits since the happy revolution that, in many places, delivered Christianity from the yoke of superstition and spiritual tyranny. This system of ecclesiastical policy, extensive as it is, is under the direction of the bishop of *Rome* alone, who, by virtue of a sort of *hereditary succession*, claims the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. PETER, the *supposed* prince of the apostles, and gives himself out for the *supreme head* of the universal church, the *vice-gerent* of Christ upon earth. This lordly ruler of the church is, at this time, elected to his high office by the chosen members of the Roman clergy, who bear the ancient denomination of *cardinals*. Of these, *six* are *bishops* within the precincts of *Rome*; *fifty* are ministers of the Roman churches, and are called *priests* or *presbyters*; and *fourteen* are inspectors of the hospitals and charity-houses, and are called *deacons*. These *cardinals*, while the papal chair is vacant, and they are employed in the choice of a successor to the deceased pontiff, are shut up and closely confined in a certain sort of prison, called the

the *Conclave*, that they may thus be engaged to bring this difficult matter to a speedy conclusion. No person that is not an Italian by birth, and has not already obtained a place in the college of cardinals, is capable of being raised to the head of the church; nor have all the Italian cardinals the privilege of aspiring to this high office [a]. Some are rendered incapable of filling the papal chair by the place of their birth, others by their manner of life, and a few by other reasons of a more incidental nature [b]. It is also to be observed, that the emperor and the kings of *France* and *Spain* have acquired, whether expressly by stipulation, or imperceptibly through custom, the privilege of excluding from the number of the candidates for this high office such as they think proper to oppose or dislike. Hence it often happens, that, in the numerous college of cardinals, a very small number are permitted, upon a vacancy, to aspire at the papacy; the greatest part being generally prevented, by their birth, their character, their circumstances, and by the force of political intrigues, from flattering themselves with the

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[a] See JO. FRID. MAYERI *Commentarius de Electione Pontif. Romani*, published in 4to at *Hamburg*, in the year 1691. The ceremonial observed in the *election* and *installation* is amply described by MEUSCHENIUS, in a work published at *Frankfort* in the year 1732, under the following title: *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani*.

[b] The great obstacle that prevents several cardinals from aspiring at the pontificate, is what they call at *Rome*, *il peccato originale*, or *original sin*. This mark of exclusion belongs to those who are born subjects of some crown, or republic, which is not within the bounds of *Italy*, or which are upon a footing of jealousy with the court of *Rome*. Those also, who were made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or their adherents, are also included in this imputation of *original sin*, which excludes from the papal chair. The accidental circumstances that exclude certain cardinals from the pontificate, are their being born princes or independent sovereigns, or, their declaring themselves openly in favour of certain courts, or, their family's being too numerous, or, their morals being irregular. Even youth and a good complexion and figure are considered as obstacles. But all these maxims and rules vary and change according to the inconstant and precarious impulse of policy and faction.

For an account of the different methods of electing the pope, whether by *compromise*, *inspiration*, *scrutiny*, or *access* (by which latter is meant a *second election* employed when the other methods fail); see AYMON, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, edit. 2de, p. 40, &c.

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The power
of the pope
limited.

pleasing hope of ascending that towering summit of ecclesiastical power and dominion.

II. It must not be imagined, that the personal power and authority of the Roman pontiff are circumscribed by no limits; since it is well known, that, in all his decisions relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the *brethren*, i. e. the cardinals, who compose his ministry or privy council. Nay more, in matters of religious controversy and doctrine, he is obliged to ask the advice and opinion of eminent divines, in order to secure his pretended infallibility from the suggestions of error. Besides this, all matters that are not of the highest moment and importance, are divided, according to their respective nature, into certain classes, and left to the management of certain colleges, called *Congregations* [c], in every one of which, one or more

[c] These congregations are as follow: I. *The congregation of the Pope*, instituted first by SIXTUS V, to prepare the matters that were to be brought before the *consistory*, at which the pontiff is always present. Hence this is called the *consistorial congregation*, and in it are treated all affairs relative to the erection of bishoprics and cathedral churches, the reunion or suppression of episcopal sees, the alienation of church goods, and the taxes and *annates*, that are imposed upon all benefices in the pope's giving. The cardinal-dean presides in this assembly. II. *The congregation of the Inquisition*, or (as it is otherwise called) *of the Holy Office*, instituted by PAUL III, which takes cognizance of heresies, apostacy, magic, and profane writings, which assemble thrice in the week, and every Thursday in presence of the pope, who presides in it. The office of *grand inquisitor*, which encroached upon the prerogatives of the pontiff, has been long suppressed, or rather distributed among the cardinals, who belong to this congregation, and whose decisions come under the supreme cognizance of his Holiness. III. *The congregation for the propagation of the Roman catholic Faith*, founded under the pontificate of GREGORY XV, composed of eighteen cardinals, one of the secretaries of state, a protonotary, a secretary of the inquisition, and other members of less rank. Here it is, that the deliberations are carried on, which relate to the extirpation of heresy, the appointment of missionaries, &c. This congregation has built a most beautiful and magnificent palace in one of the most agreeable situations that could be chosen at Rome, where proselytes to popery from foreign countries are lodged and nourished *gratis*, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition, and instructed in those branches of knowledge to which the bent of their genius points. The prelates, curates, and vicars also, who are obliged, without any fault of theirs, to abandon the places of their residence, are entertained charitably in this noble edifice in a manner proportioned to their station in the church. IV. *The congregation designed to*
cardinals

cardinals preside [*d*]. The decisions of these societies C E N T.

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explain the decisions of the council of Trent. V. *The congregation of the Index*, SECT. III. whose principal business is to examine manuscripts and books that are designed P A R T I. for publication, to decide whether the people may be permitted to read them, to correct those books whose errors are not numerous, and which contain useful and salutary truths, to condemn those whose principles are heretical and pernicious, and to grant the peculiar privilege of perusing heretical books to certain persons. This congregation, which is sometimes held in the presence of the pope, but generally in the palace of the cardinal-president, has a more extensive jurisdiction than that of the inquisition, as it not only takes cognizance of those books that contain doctrines contrary to the Roman catholic faith, but of those also that concern the duties of morality, the discipline of the church, and the interests of society. Its name is derived from the alphabetical Tables, or *Indexes*, of heretical books and authors, which have been composed by its appointment. VI. *The congregation for maintaining the rights and immunities of the Clergy, and of the Knights of Malta.* This congregation was formed by URBAN VIII, to decide the disputes and remove the difficulties and inconveniencies that arose from the trials of ecclesiastics, before princes, or other lay judges. VII. *The congregation relating to the Bishops and regular Clergy*, instituted by SIXTUS V, to decide the debates which arise between the bishops and their diocesans, and to compose the differences that happen so frequently among the Monastic orders. VIII. *The congregation*, appointed by GREGORY XIV, for examining into the capacity and learning of the bishops: IX. Another for inquiring into their lives and morals: X. A third for obliging them to reside in their dioceses, or to dispense them from that obligation. XI. *The congregation for suppressing monasteries*, i. e. such whose revenues are exhausted, and who thereby become a charge upon the public. XII. *The congregation of the Apostolic Visitation*, which names the visitors, who perform the duties and visitations of the churches and convents within the district of Rome, to which the pope is obliged as archbishop of that city. XIII. *The congregation of Relics*, designed to examine the marks, and to augment the number of these instruments of superstition. XIV. *The congregation of Indulgences*, designed to examine the case of those who have recourse to this method of quieting the conscience. XV. *The congregation of Rites*, which SIXTUS V appointed to regulate and invent the religious ceremonies, that are to be observed in the worship of each new saint, that is added to the Kalendar.

These are the congregations of cardinals, set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church; and they are undoubtedly, in some respects, a check upon the power of the pontiff, enormous as it may be. There are six more, which relate to the temporal government of the papal territories. In these congregations, where the pope is never present, all things are transacted, which relate to the execution of public justice in civil or criminal matters, the levying of taxes, the providing the cities and provinces with good governors, the relieving those who are unjustly oppressed by subordinate magistrates, the coinage, the care of the rivers, aqueducts, bridges, roads, churches, and public edifices.

[*d*] The court of Rome is very particularly and accurately described by

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are generally approved of by the Roman pontiff, who has not a right, without alleging the most weighty and evident reasons, to reverse what they pronounce to be just and expedient. This form of ecclesiastical government is, doubtless, a check to the authority of the pope; and hence it is, that many things are transacted at *Rome* in a manner that is in direct opposition to the sentiments of its spiritual ruler. This may serve to shew us, that those persons are little acquainted with the nature and limits of the papal hierarchy, who pretend, that all the iniquitous proceedings of the court of *Rome*, the calamities it has occasioned, the contentions, rebellions, and tumults it has excited, are to be entirely and wholly laid to the charge of the Roman pontiff [e].

Debates arise concerning the power of the Roman pontiff.

III. The power of the Roman pontiff hath excited debates even among those that are under the papal hierarchy; and the spiritual subjects of this, pretended, head of the church, are very far from being agreed with respect to the extent of his authority and jurisdiction. Hence it happens, that this authority and dominion are not the same in all places, having a larger scope in some provinces, and being reduced within narrower bounds in others. If indeed, we consider only the pretensions of the pontiff, then we shall find that his power is unlimited and supreme; for there are no prerogatives that can flatter

AYMON (who had been, before his conversion to the protestant religion, domestic chaplain to INNOCENT XI) in a book, entitled, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, of which the first edition was published at the *Hague* in 8vo, in the year 1707, and the second in 1726.—See also *Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Ceremonies qui s'y observent*, which father LABAT has translated into French, from the Italian of JEROM LIMADORO, and subjoined to his *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. viii. p. 105.—For an account of the Roman congregations, &c. see DOROTH. ASCIAN. *De Montibus Pietatis Romanis*, p. 510. as also HUNOLD. PLETTENBERG, *Notitia Tribunal. et Congregat. Curiae Romanae, Hildesiae*, in 8vo, 1693.

[e] Hence arises that important distinction, frequently employed by the French and other nations in their debates with the Roman pontiff, I mean, the distinction between the *Pope of Rome* and the *Court of Rome*. The latter is often loaded with the bitterest reproaches and the heaviest accusations, while the former is spared, and in some measure excused. Nor is this distinction by any means groundless; since the cardinals and congregations, whose rights and privileges are held sacred, undertake and execute many projects without the knowledge, and sometimes against the will and consent, of the Roman pontiff.

ambition,

ambition, which he does not claim for himself and his court. He not only pretends, that the whole power and majesty of the church reside in his person, and are trans-
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 mitted in certain portions, from him to the inferior bishops, but moreover asserts the absolute infallibility of all decisions and decrees that he pronounces from his lordly tribunal. These arrogant pretensions are, however, opposed by many, and chiefly by the French nation, which expressly maintains, that every bishop receives immediately from Christ himself a portion of that spiritual power which is imparted to the church; that the collective sum, or whole of this power, is lodged in the collective body of its pastors, or, which is the same thing, in a general council, lawfully assembled; and that the pontiff, considered personally, and as distinct from the church, is liable to error. This complicated and important controversy may be easily brought within narrower bounds, and may be reduced to the following plain question: *viz. Is the Roman pontiff, properly speaking, the LAWGIVER of the church, or, is he no more than the GUARDIAN and DEPOSITARY of the laws enacted by Christ and by the church?* There is no prospect of seeing this question decided, nor the debates terminated to which it has given rise; since the contending parties are not even agreed about the proper and lawful judge of this important controversy [f]. Some great revolution can only effect the decision of this matter.

IV. The church of *Rome* lost much of its ancient splendor and majesty, as soon as LUTHER, and the other luminaries of the Reformation, had exhibited to the view of the European nations the Christian religion restored, at least, to a considerable part of its native purity, and delivered from many of the superstitions, under which it

The declension of the church of Rome.

[f] The arguments employed by the creatures of the Roman pontiff in defence of his unlimited authority, may be seen in BELLARMINE and other writers, of which an enormous collection has been made by ROCCABERTI; and, what is not a little extraordinary, a French writer, named PETITDIER, appeared in defence of the pope's pretensions, in a book published at *Luxemburg*, in the year 1724, *Sur l'Autorité et l'Infallibilité des Papes*. The sentiments of the Gallican church, and the arguments by which it opposes the pretensions of *Rome*, may be seen in the writings of RICHER and LAUNOY.

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had lain so long disfigured. Among the most opulent states of *Europe*, several withdrew entirely from the jurisdiction of *Rome*; in others, certain provinces threw off the yoke of papal tyranny; and upon the whole, this defection produced a striking diminution, both of the wealth and power of the Roman pontiffs. It must also be observed, that even the kings, princes, and sovereign states, who adhered to the religion of *Rome*, yet changed their sentiments with respect to the claims and pretensions of its bishop. If they were not persuaded by the writings of the protestants to renounce the superstitions of popery, yet they received most useful instruction from them in other matters of very great moment. They drew from these writings important discoveries of the groundless claims and unlawful usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and came, at length, to perceive, that, if the jurisdiction and authority of *Rome* continued the same that it was before the rise of LUTHER, the rights of temporal princes and the majesty of civil government would, sooner or later, be absorbed in the gulph of papal avarice and ambition. Hence it was, that most of the sovereign states of *Europe*, partly by secret and prudent measures, partly by public negotiations and remonstrances, set bounds to the daring ambition of *Rome*, which aimed at nothing less than universal dominion both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; nor did the Roman pontiff think it either safe or expedient to have recourse to the ancient arms of the church, *war* and *excommunication*, in order to repel these attacks upon his authority. Even those very kingdoms, who acknowledge the Roman pontiff as the lawgiver of the church, and an infallible guide, confine, nevertheless, his power of enacting laws within narrow limits.

The methods employed by the Roman pontiffs to repair their losses.
Missions.

V. In this declining state of their affairs, it was natural for the humbled pontiffs to look about for some method of repairing their losses; and, for this purpose, they exerted much more zeal and industry, than had been shewn by their predecessors, in extending the limits of their spiritual dominion beyond *Europe*, and left no means unemployed of gaining proselytes and adherents in the *Indies*, both among the Pagan nations and the Christian sects. The Jesuits, as we have already had occasion

occasion to observe, were the first missionaries that were sent for this purpose into these distant parts of the world; but able men, selected out of the other Monastic orders, were afterwards employed in this arduous undertaking. If, however, we except the exploits of FRANCIS XAVIER, and his companions in *India, China, and Japan*, of which notice has been taken above, there were no great matters effected in this century; as, generally speaking, the persons who were set apart to execute this grand project, were not as yet endowed with that experience and dexterity that it necessarily required, and set about the work with more zeal than prudence and knowledge.

The Portuguese had, in the preceding century, opened a passage into the country of the Abyssinians, who professed the doctrine, and observed the religious rites, of the *Monophysites*; and this offered a favourable occasion of reducing this people under the papal yoke. Accordingly, JOHN BERMUDEZ was sent into *Ethiopia* for this purpose; and, that he might appear with a certain degree of dignity, he was clothed with the title of *Patriarch of the Abyssinians*. The same important commission was afterwards given to IGNATIUS LOYOLA, and the companions of his labours [g]; and, at their first setting out, several circumstances, and particularly a war with a neighbouring prince, which the Abyssinian monarch was desirous of terminating by the powerful succours of the Portuguese, seemed to promise them a successful and happy ministry. But the event did not answer this fond expectation; and, in some time, it appeared plainly, that the Abyssinians stood too firm in the faith of their ancestors to be easily engaged to abandon and forsake it; so that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Jesuits had almost lost all hopes of succeeding in their attempts [h].

[g] It is certainly by mistake that Dr. MOSHEIM mentions LOYOLA as having made a voyage into *Abyssinia*. Jesuits were sent, at different periods, to that country, and with little success; but their founder was never there in person.

[h] See LUDOLFI *Histor. Æthiopica et Comm.*—GEDDES, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 120.—LE GRAND, *Dissertation de la Conversion des Abyssins*, which is to be found in the second volume of the *Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie* du R. P. JEROME LOBO, p. 13.—LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, livr. ii. p. 90.

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The Egypti-
ans and Ar-
menians.

VI. The *Egyptians*, or *Copts*, who were closely connect-
ed with the *Abyssinians* in their religious sentiments, and
also in their external forms of worship, became next the
objects of *Rome's* ambitious zeal; and, in the year 1562,
CHRISTOPHER RODERIC, a Jesuit of note, was sent, by
the exprefs order of pope PIUS IV, to propagate the cause
of popery among that people. This ecclesiastic, not-
withstanding the rich presents and subtle arguments by
which he attempted to change the sentiments and shake
the constancy of GABRIEL [i], who was at that time
patriarch of *Alexandria*, returned to *Rome* with no other
effect of his embassy than fair words, and a few compli-
ments [k]. It is however true, that, towards the con-
clusion of this century, and during the pontificate of
CLEMENT VIII, an embassy from another patriarch of
Alexandria, whose name was also GABRIEL, appeared at
Rome, and was considered as a subject of triumph and
boasting by the creatures of the pope [l]. But the more
candid and sensible, even among the Roman-catholics,
looked upon this embassy, and not without reason, as a
stratagem of the Jesuits, to persuade the *Abyssinians*
(who were so prone to follow the example of their bre-
thren of *Alexandria*) to join themselves to the communion
of *Rome*, and to submit to the authority and jurisdiction
of its pontiff [m]. It is at least certain, that, after this

[i] FRANC. SACHINI *Hist. Societat. Jesu*, part II. lib. v.—EUSEB. RENAUD, *Hist. Patriarchar. Alexandrin.* p. 611.—*Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 314.

[k] This patriarch offered to send one of his bishops to the council of *Trent*, in order to get rid of the importunity of these Jesuits; but he refused positively the sending any of his young students to be educated among their order, and declared plainly, that he owed no obedience nor submission to the bishop of *Rome*, who had no more dignity nor authority than any other bishop, except within the bounds of his own diocese. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagn. de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 322. 324.

[l] The transactions of this embassy, adorned with an ample and pompous Preface, are subjoined to the sixth volume of the *Annal. Eccl.* of BARONIUS, p. 707. edit. *Antwerp*.

[m] RENAUDOT, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 611, 612. endeavours to maintain the credit and importance of this embassy, of which BARONIUS has given such a pompous account. He is however much mistaken when he asserts, that Father SIMON, relying upon the fallacious testimony of GEORGE DOUZA, was the only person that ever considered this embassy as a
solemn

solemn embassy, we do not find in the records of history the smallest token of a propensity in the *Copts* to embrace the doctrine or discipline of *Rome*.

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Many years before this period, a considerable sect of the Armenians had been accustomed to treat the Roman pontiff with particular marks of veneration and respect, without departing, however, from the religious doctrine, discipline, or worship of their ancestors. Of this a farther account shall be given in the History of the Eastern Churches; it may, nevertheless, be proper to observe here, that the attachment of this sect to the bishop of *Rome* was greatly increased, and the votaries of the pontiff considerably multiplied, by the zeal of SERAPION, an opulent man, who was entirely devoted to the court of *Rome*, and who, by engaging himself to discharge the debts under which the Armenians groaned, obtained, in the year 1593, the title and dignity of Patriarch, though there were already two patriarchs at the head of the Armenian church. He did not, however, enjoy this dignity long; for, soon after his promotion, he was sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the desire of those Armenians who adhered to the ecclesiastical discipline of their ancestors; and thus the boasting and exultation of the Romans subsided all of a sudden, and their hopes vanished [n].

VII. The ambitious views of the Roman pontiffs sowed the pestilential seeds of animosity and discord among all the eastern churches; and the Nestorian Christians, who are also known by the denomination of *Chaldeans*, felt early the effects of their imperious counsels. In the year 1551, a warm dispute arose among that people, about the creation of a new patriarch, SIMEON BARMAMAS being proposed by one party, and SULAKA earnestly desired by the other. The latter, to support his pretensions the more effectually, repaired to *Rome*, and was consecrated patriarch, in the year 1553, by pope JULIUS III, whose jurisdiction he had acknowledged, and

Nestorians,
and Indians.

stratagem; since it is evident, that THOMAS A JESU, in the sixth book of his treatise *De conversione omnium gentium procuranda*, has considered it in the same light, as well as several other writers. See GEDDES, *Church-History of Ethiopia*, p. 231, 232.

[n] See *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. iii. p. 132, 133.

to

CENT. XVI. to whose commands he had promised unlimited submission and obedience. JULIUS gave the name JOHN to the new Chaldean patriarch, and, upon his return to his own country, sent with him several persons, skilled in the Syriac language, to assist him in establishing and extending the papal empire among the Nestorians. From this time that unhappy people were divided into two factions, and were often involved in the greatest dangers and difficulties by the jarring sentiments and perpetual quarrels of their patriarchs [o].

The Nestorians, or, as they are more commonly called, the *Christians of St. THOMAS*, who inhabited the maritime coasts of *India*, suffered much from the methods employed by the Portuguese to engage them to embrace the doctrine and discipline of the church of *Rome*, and to abandon the religion of their ancestors, which was much more simple, and infinitely less absurd [p]. The finishing stroke was put to the violence and brutality of these attempts by Don ALEXIS DE MENEZES, bishop of *Goa*, who, about the conclusion of this century, calling the Jesuits to his assistance, obliged this unhappy and reluctant people to embrace the religion of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the pope's supreme jurisdiction; against both of which acts they had always expressed the utmost abhorrence. These violent counsels and arrogant proceedings of MENEZES, and his associates, were condemned by such of the Roman-catholics as were most remarkable for their equity and wisdom [q].

VIII. The greatest part of the first legates and missionaries of the court of *Rome* treated with much severity and injustice the Christians whom they were desirous of gaining over to their communion. For they did not

[o] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Bibliotheca Oriental. Clementino-Vaticana*, tom. iii. part II. p. 164.—See the *History of the Eastern Church*, in the following chapter of this history.

[p] For an account of the doctrines and worship of these, and the other eastern Christians, see the following Chapter:—As also two learned books of Monsieur LA CROZE, the one entitled, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*; and the other, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*.

[q] See LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme aux Indes*, livr. ii. p. 88, &c. in which there is an ample account of the *Christians of St. THOMAS*, and of the rough methods employed by MENEZES to gain them over to the church of *Rome*.

only require that these Christians should renounce the particular opinions that separated them from the Greek and Latin churches, and that they should acknowledge the Roman pontiff as CHRIST's sole *vicegerent* upon earth: their demands went still farther; they opposed many of the opinions of this people, some of which were at least worthy of toleration, and others highly agreeable to the dictates both of reason and scripture; they insisted upon the suppression and abolition of several customs, rites, and institutions, which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, and which were perfectly innocent in their nature and tendency; in a word, they would be satisfied with nothing less than an entire and minute conformity of the religious rites and opinions of this people, with the doctrine and worship of the church of *Rome*. The papal court, however, rendered wise by experience, perceived at length that this manner of proceeding was highly imprudent, and every way improper to extend the limits of the papal empire in the East. It was therefore determined to treat with more artifice and moderation a matter of such moment and importance, and the missionaries were, consequently, ordered to change the plan of their operations, and confine their views to the two following points: to wit, the subjection of these Christians to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and their renouncing, or at least professing to renounce, the opinions that had been condemned in the general councils of the church. In all other matters, the Roman envoys were commanded to use a perfect toleration, and to let these people remain unmolested in following the sentiments and observing the institutions they had derived from their ancestors. To give the greater credit and plausibility to this new method of conversion, certain learned doctors of the church endeavoured to demonstrate, that the religious tenets of *Rome*, when explained according to the simplicity of truth, and not by the subtilties and definitions of the schools, differed very little from the opinions received in the Greek and the other eastern churches. But this demonstration was very far from being satisfactory, and it discovered less of an ingenuous spirit, than a disposition to gain proselytes by all sorts of means, and

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C E N T. at all events. Be that as it may, the cause of *Rome* received much more advantage from this plan of moderation, than it had derived from the severity of its former counsels; though much less than the authors of this reconciling plan fondly expected.

XVI.
SECT. III.
PART I.

The internal constitution of the church of *Rome* strengthened in various ways.

IX. While the Roman pontiffs were using their utmost efforts to extend their dominion abroad, they did not neglect the means that were proper to strengthen and maintain it at home. On the contrary, from the dawn of the Reformation, they began to redouble their diligence in defending the internal form and constitution of the church of *Rome* against the dexterity and force of its adversaries. They could no more have recourse to the expedient of *crusades*, by which they had so often diminished the power and influence of their enemies. The revolutions that had happened in the affairs of *Rome*, and in the state of *Europe*, rendered any such method of subduing heretics visionary, and impracticable. Other methods were, therefore, to be found out, and all the resources of prudence were to be exhausted in support of a declining church. Hence the laws and procedures of the *inquisition* were revised and corrected in those countries where that formidable court is permitted to exert its dreadful power. Colleges and schools of learning were erected in various places, in which the studious youth were trained up, by perpetual exercise, in the art of disputing, that thus they might wield with more dexterity and success the arms of controversy against the enemies of *Rome*. The circulation of such books as were supposed to have a pernicious tendency, was either entirely prevented, or at least much obstructed, by certain lists, or indexes, composed by men of learning and sagacity, and published by authority, in which these books were marked with a note of infamy, and their perusal prohibited, though with certain restrictions. The pursuit of knowledge was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and honourable marks of distinction, as well as ample rewards, were bestowed on those who made the most remarkable progress in the cultivation of letters. And, to enlarge no farther on this head, the youth, in general, were more carefully instructed in the principles and precepts of their religion, than they had formerly been.

been. Thus it happens that signal advantages are frequently derived from what are looked upon as the greatest evils, and much wisdom and improvement are daily acquired in the school of opposition and adversity. It is more than probable, that the church of *Rome* would never have been enriched with the acquisitions we have now been mentioning, had it continued in that state of uninterrupted ease and undisputed authority that nourish a spirit of indolence and luxury, and had not the pretended heretics attacked its territories, trampled upon its jurisdiction, and eclipsed a great part of its ancient majesty and splendour.

X. The Monastic orders and religious societies have been always considered by the Roman pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. It is chiefly by them that they rule the church, maintain their influence on the minds of the people, and augment the number of their votaries. And, indeed, various causes contribute to render the connexion between the pontiff and these religious communities much more intimate, than that which subsists between him and the other clergy, of whatever rank or order we may suppose them to be. It was therefore judged necessary, when the success of LUTHER and the progress of the Reformation had effaced such a considerable part of the majesty of *Rome*, to found some new religious fraternity, that should, in a particular manner, be devoted to the interests of the Roman pontiff, and the very express end of whose institution should be to renew the vigour of a declining hierarchy, to heal the deep wound it had received, to preserve those parts of the papal dominions that remained yet entire, and to augment them by new accessions. This was so much the more necessary, as the two famous *Mendicant* societies [r], by whose ministry the popes had chiefly governed during many ages, and that with the greatest success and glory, had now lost, on several accounts, a considerable part of their influence and authority, and were thereby less capable of serving the church with efficacy and vigour than they had formerly been. What the pontiff fought for, in this de-

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Ignatius
Loyola the
founder of
the order
called Je-
suits.

✎ [r] These two orders were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

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clining state of his affairs, was found in that famous and most powerful society, which, deriving its title from the name of JESUS, were commonly called *Jesuits*, while they were stiled by their enemies *Loyolites*, and sometimes *Inghists* [s], from the Spanish name of their founder [t]. This founder was IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a Spanish knight, who, from an illiterate soldier, became an unparalleled fanatic; a fanatic, indeed, of a fertile and enterprising genius [u], who, after having passed through various scenes of life, came to *Rome*, and, being there directed by the prudent counsels of persons much wiser than himself, was rendered capable of instituting such an order as the state of the church at that time essentially required [w].

☞ [s] The Spanish name of the founder of the order of Jesuits was DON INIGO DE GUIPUSCOA.

[t] The writers who have given the most particular and circumstantial accounts of the order of the Jesuits, are enumerated by CHRISTOPH. AUG. SALIG. in his *Historia August. Confessionis*, tom. ii. p. 73.

[u] Many Jesuits have written the life of this extraordinary man; but the greatest part of these biographers seem more intent on advancing the glory of their founder, than solicitous about the truth and fidelity of their relations; and hence the most common events and the most trivial actions that concern IGNATIUS are converted into prodigies and miracles. The history of this enterprising fanatic has been composed with equal truth and ingenuity, tho' seasoned with a very large portion of wit and pleasantry, by a French writer, who calls himself HERCULES RASIEL DE SELVE *. This work, which is divided into two volumes, is entitled, *Histoire de l'admirable Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et fondateur de la Monarchie des Inghistes*, and it has passed already through two editions at the *Hague*.

[w] Not only the protestants, but also a great number of the more learned and judicious *Roman-catholics*, have unanimously denied that IGNATIUS LOYOLA had either learning sufficient to compose the writings of which he is said to be the author, or genius enough to form the society of which he is considered as the founder. They maintain, on the contrary, that he was no more than a flexible instrument, in the hands of able and ingenious men, who made use of his fortitude and fanaticism to answer their purposes; and that persons much more learned than he were employed to compose the writings which bear his name. See GEDDES, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 429.—The greatest part of his works are supposed to have proceeded from the pen of his secretary JOHN DE PALANCO; see LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, p. 55. 271. The

☞ * This is a feigned name. The real author was Monsieur LE VIER, an ingenious bookseller, who lived formerly at the *Hague*.

XI. The

XI. The Jesuits hold a middle rank between the monks and the secular clerks, and, with respect to the nature of their institute, approach nearer to the regular canons than to any other order. For though they resemble the monks in this, that they live separate from the multitude, and are bound by certain religious vows, yet they are exempt from stated hours of worship, and other numerous and burthensome services, that lie heavy upon the Monastic orders, that they may have more time to employ in the education of youth, in directing the consciences of the faithful, in edifying the church by their pious and learned productions, and in transacting other matters that relate to the prosperity of the papal hierarchy. Their whole order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the *professed members*, who live in what are called the *professed houses*; the second contains the *scholars*, who instruct the youth in the *colleges*; and to the third belong the *novices*, who live in the *houses of probation* [x]. The *professed members*, besides the three ordinary vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*, that are common to all the Monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves *to go, without deliberation or delay, wherever the pope shall think fit to send them*; they are also a kind of *Mendicants*, being without any fixed subsistence, and living upon the liberality of pious and well-disposed people. The other *Jesuits*, and more particularly the *scholars*, are possessed of large revenues, and are obliged, in case of urgent necessity, to contribute to the support of the *professed members*. These latter, who are few in number, (considering the multitudes that belong to the other classes) are, generally speaking, men of prudence and learning, deeply skilled

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The nature
of the order
and institu-
tion of the
Jesuits.

Benedictines affirm, that his book of *Spiritual Exercises* is copied from the work of a Spanish Benedictine monk, whose name was CISNEROS (see *La Vie de M. de la Croze, par JORDAN*), and the *Constitutions* of the Society were probably the work of LAINEZ and SALMERON, two learned men, who were among its first members. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 115.

[x] Other writers add a fourth class, consisting of the *Spiritual* and *Temporal Coadjutors*, who assist the professed members, and perform the same functions, without being bound by any more than the three *simple* vows; though, after a long and approved exercise of their employment, the *Spiritual Coadjutors* are admitted to the *fourth* vow, and thus become *professed members*.

C E N T. in the affairs of the world, and dexterous in transacting
 XVI. all kinds of business from long experience added to their
 SECT. III. natural penetration and sagacity; in a word, they are the
 PART I. *true and perfect* Jesuits. The rest have, indeed, the title,
 but are rather the companions and assistants of the *Jesuits*,
 than real members of that mysterious order; and it is
 only in a very vague and general sense, that the deno-
 mination of Jesuits can be applied to them. But, what
 is still more remarkable, the secrets of the society are not
 revealed even to all the *professed members*. It is only a
 small number of this class, whom old age has enriched
 with thorough experience, and long trial declared wor-
 thy of such an important trust, that are instructed in the
 mysteries of the order.

The zeal of
 the Jesuits
 for the in-
 terests of the
 Roman pon-
 tiff.

XII. The church and court of *Rome*, since the re-
 markable period when so many kingdoms and provinces
 withdrew from their jurisdiction, have derived more in-
 fluence and support from the labours of this single order,
 than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all
 the various exertions of their power and opulence. It
 was this famous company, which, spreading itself with
 an astonishing rapidity through the greatest part of the
 habitable world, confirmed the wavering nations in the
 faith of *Rome*, restrained the progress of the rising sects,
 gained over a prodigious number of Pagans in the most
 barbarous and remote parts of the globe to the profession
 of popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all de-
 nominations; appearing almost alone in the field of con-
 troversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution the
 whole burthen of this religious war, and surpassing, by
 far, the champions of antiquity, both in the subtilty of
 their reasonings and the eloquence of their discourses.
 Nor is this all; for by the affected softness and com-
 plying spirit that reigns in their conversation and man-
 ners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil
 transactions, by their acquaintance with the arts and
 sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplish-
 ments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar fa-
 vour and protection of statesmen, persons of the first
 distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did any-
 thing contribute more to give them that ascendancy they
 have universally acquired, than the cunning and dexte-
 rity

rity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to the propensities of mankind, and depriving it, on certain occasions, of that severity, that rendered it burthensome to the sensual and voluptuous. By this they supplanted, in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, the Dominicans and other rigid doctors, who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of consciences, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of royal grandeur, from whence issue the counsels that govern mankind [y]. An order of this nature could not but be highly adapted to promote the interests of the court of *Rome*; and this, indeed, was its great end, and the leading purpose which it never lost sight of; employing every where its utmost vigilance and art to support the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and to save them from the contempt, of which they must have been naturally apprehensive in consequence of a revolution that opened the eyes of a great part of mankind.

All these circumstances placed the order of Jesuits in a conspicuous point of light. Their capacity, their influence, and their zeal for the papacy, had a very advantageous retrospect upon themselves, as it swelled the sources of their opulence, and procured to their society an uncommon and indeed an excessive degree of veneration and respect. But it is also true, that these signal honours and advantages exposed them, at the same time, to the envy of other religious orders; that their enemies multiplied from day to day; and that they were often involved in the greatest perplexities and perils. Monks, courtiers, civil magistrates, public schools, united their efforts to crush this rising fabric of ambition and policy; and a prodigious number of books were published to prove that nothing could be more detrimental to the interests of religion and the well-being of society, than the institution of the Jesuits. In *France*, *Poland*, and other

[y] Before the order of Jesuits was instituted, the Dominicans alone directed the consciences of all the European kings and princes. And it was by the Jesuits that the Dominicans were deprived of a privilege so precious to spiritual ambition. See PEYRAT, *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France*, livr. i. p. 322.

CENT.
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PART I.

Roman
pontiffs.

countries, they were declared public enemies of their country, traitors and parricides, and were even banished with ignominy [x]. But the prudence, or rather the cunning and artifice, of the disciples of *Loyola*, calmed this storm of opposition, and, by gentle and imperceptible methods, restored the credit and authority of their order, delivered it from the perils with which it had been threatened, and even put it in a state of defence against the future attempts of its adversaries [a].

XIII. The pontiffs of this century that ruled the church after the decease of ALEXANDER VI, were

[x] See the *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. passim. —BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris*. tom. vi. p. 559—648, et passim.—As well as almost all the writers who have given accounts of the sixteenth century.

[a] The character and spirit of the Jesuits were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold with a sagacity almost prophetic, so early as the year 1551, in a sermon preached in *Christ-Church, Dublin*, by Dr. GEORGE BROWN, bishop of that see; a copy of which was given to Sir JAMES WARE, and may be found in the *Harleian Miscellany* (vol. v. p. 566). The remarkable passage that relates to the Jesuits is as follows: “But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees’ manner. Amongst the *Jews* they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the Heathens a Heathenist, with the Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformed, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said, in his heart, there was no God. These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never be wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than *Jews*, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a *Jesuit*.” —This singular passage, I had almost said prediction, seems to be accomplished, in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in *France* (I write this note in the year 1762); and by the universal indignation which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society, have excited among all the orders of the French nation, from the throne to the cottage.

PIUS III, JULIUS II [b], LEO X, ADRIAN VI, whose C E N T.
characters and transactions have been already taken no- XVI.
tice of; CLEMENT VII, of the house of MEDICIS, — SECT. III.
PAUL III, of the illustrious family of FARNESE [c], — PART I.
JULIUS III [d], whose name was JOHN MARIA GIOCC-
CI, — MARCELLUS II, — PAUL IV [e], whose name, be-

☞ [b] It was from a foolish ambition of resembling CÆSAR (a very singular model for a Christian pontiff), that this pope, whose name was ROVERE, assumed the denomination of JULIUS II. It may be indeed said, that CÆSAR was sovereign pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), and that the pope of Rome enjoyed the same dignity, though with some change in the title.

[c] The sentiments and character of PAUL III have given rise to much debate, even in our time, especially between the late Cardinal QUIRINI, and KEISLING, SCHELHORN, and some other writers. The cardinal has used his utmost efforts to defend the probity and merit of this pontiff; while the two learned men abovementioned represent him as a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud. See QUIRINUS, *De gestis PAULI III, Farnesii Brixie*, 1745, in 4to. ☞ Among the *res gestæ* of PAUL III were two bastards, whose offspring, FARNESE and SFORZA, were made cardinals in their infancy. See KEISLINGII *Epist. de gestis PAULI III*. SCHELHORN. *Amœnitates Hist. Eccles. et Liter.* But the licentious exploits of this pope do not end here. He was reproached, in a book published before his death under the name of OCHINO, with having poisoned his mother and his nephew, with having ravished a young virgin at Ancona, with an incestuous and adulterous commerce with his daughter CONSTANTIA, who died of poison administered by the pope, to prevent any interruption in his odious amours. It is said, in the same book, that being caught in bed with his niece LAURA FARNESE, who was the wife of NIC. QUERCEI, he received from this incensed husband a stab of a dagger, of which he bore the marks to his death. See SLEIDAN, *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipublicæ, Carolo Quinto Cæsare*, lib. xxi. p. 667. edit. Argentor.

☞ [d] This was the worthy pontiff, who was scarcely seated in the papal chair, when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See THUAN. lib. vi. & xv. — HOFFING. *Hist. Eccl.* tom. v. p. 572. — and more especially SLEIDAN, *Histor.* lib. xxi. *Folio*, m. 609. — When JULIUS was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning, nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, *What virtue or merit they had found in him, that could induce them to place him (JULIUS) in the papal chair?*

☞ [e] Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment of Queen ELIZABETH. See BURNET'S *History of the Reformation*. — It was he who, by a bull, pre-

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fore his elevation to the pontificate, was JOHN PETER CARAFFA,—PIUS IV, who was ambitious of being looked upon as a branch of the house of MEDICIS, and who had been known, before his promotion, by the name of JOHN ANGELI DE MEDICIS,—PIUS V, a Dominican, called MICHAEL GHISLERI, a man of an austere and melancholy turn of mind, by which, and other similar qualities, he obtained a place in the Kalendar,---GREGORY XIII, who was known previously by the name of HUGO BUONCOMPAGNO [*f*],---SIXTUS V, otherwise named FELIX PERETTI DI MONTALTO, who, in pride, magnificence, intrepidity, and strength of mind, and in other great virtues and vices, surpassed by far all his predecessors,—URBAN VIII, GREGORY XIV, INNOCENT IX, the shortness of whose reigns prevented them from acquiring reputation, or falling into reproach.

Among these pontiffs there were better and worse [*g*]; but they were all men of exemplary characters, when compared with the greatest part of those who governed the church before the Reformation. The number of adversaries, both foreign and domestic, that arose to set limits to the despotism of *Rome*, and to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff, rendered the college of cardinals and the Roman nobility more cau-

tended to raise *Ireland* to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also who first instituted the *Index of prohibited books*, mentioned above § IX.

[*f*] See JO. PETR. MAFFEI *Annales Gregorii XIII, Rom. 1742*, in 4to.

[*g*] PIUS V and SIXTUS V made a much greater figure in the Annals of Fame, than the other pontiffs here mentioned; the former on account of his excessive severity against heretics and the famous bull *In Cœna Domini*, which is read publicly at *Rome* every year on the *Festival of the Holy Sacrament*; and the latter in consequence of many services rendered to the church, and numberless attempts, carried on with spirit, fortitude, generosity, and perseverance, to promote its glory and maintain its authority.—Several modern writers employed their pens in describing the life and actions of PIUS V, so soon as they saw him canonised, in the year 1712, by CLEMENT XI. Of his bull, entitled, *In Cœna Domini*, and the tumults it occasioned, there is an ample account in GIANNONE's *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 248. The life of SIXTUS V has been written by GREGORY LETI, and translated into several languages; it is however a very indifferent work, and the relations it contains are, in many places, inaccurate and unfaithful.

tious

tious and circumspect in the choice of a spiritual ruler; nor did they almost dare, in these critical circumstances of opposition and danger, to entrust such an important dignity to any ecclesiastic, whose bare-faced licentiousness, frontless arrogance, or inconsiderate youth, might render him peculiarly obnoxious to reproach, and furnish, thereby, new matter of censure to their adversaries. It is also worthy of observation, that from this period of opposition, occasioned by the ministry of the reformers, the Roman pontiffs have never pretended to such an exclusive authority, as they had formerly usurped; nor could they, indeed, make good such pretensions, were they so extravagant as to avow them. They claim, therefore, no longer a power of deciding, by their single authority, matters of the highest moment and importance; but, for the most part, pronounce according to the sentiments that prevail in the college of cardinals, and in the different congregations, which are intrusted with their respective parts in the government of the church. Nor do they any more venture to foment divisions in sovereign states, to arm subjects against their rulers, or to level the thunder of their excommunications at the heads of princes. All such proceedings, which were formerly so frequent at the court of *Rome*, have been prudently suspended since the gradual decline of that ignorance and superstition that prescribed a blind obedience to the pontiff, and the new degrees of power and authority that monarchs and other civil rulers have gained by the revolutions that have shaken the papal throne.

XIV. That part of the body of the clergy, that is more peculiarly devoted to the Roman pontiffs, seemed to have undergone no visible change during this century. As to the bishops, it is certain, that they made several zealous attempts, and some even in the council of *Trent*, for the recovery of the ancient rights and privileges, of which they had been forcibly deprived by the popes. They were even persuaded that the pope might be lawfully obliged to acknowledge, that the episcopal dignity was of divine original, and that the bishops received their authority immediately from CHRIST himself [b]. But all these attempts were successfully opposed by the arti-

The state of
the clergy.

[b] See PAOLO SARPI's *History of the Council of Trent*.

C E N T. fice and dexterity of the court of *Rome*, which never
 X VI. ceases to propagate and enforce this despotic maxim:
 S E C T. III. " That the bishops are no more than the legates or
 P A R T I. " ministers of Christ's vicar ; and that the authority they
 " exercise is entirely derived from the munificence and
 " *favour of the apostolic see :*" a maxim, however, that
 several bishops, and more especially those of *France*, treat
 with little respect. Some advantages, however, and those
 not inconsiderable, were obtained for the clergy at the
 expence of the pontiffs ; for those *reservations, provisions,*
exemptions, and expectatives (as they are termed by the
 Roman lawyers) which before the Reformation had ex-
 cited such heavy and bitter complaints throughout all
Europe, and exhibited the clearest proofs of papal avarice
 and tyranny, were now almost totally suppressed.

The lives
 and morals
 of the clergy.

XV. Among the subjects of deliberation in the coun-
 cil of *Trent*, the Reformation of the lives and manners of
 the clergy, and the suppression of the scandalous vices,
 that had too long reigned in that order, were not forgot ;
 nay, several wise and prudent laws were enacted with a
 view to that important object. But those who had the
 cause of virtue at heart, complained (and the reason of
 these complaints still subsists) that these laws were no
 more than feeble precepts, without any avenging arm to
 maintain their authority, and that they were transgressed,
 with impunity, by the clergy of all ranks, and particu-
 larly by those who filled the higher stations and dignities
 of the church. In reality, if we cast our eyes upon the
 Romish clergy, even in the present time, these complaints
 will appear as well founded now, as they were in the
 sixteenth century. In *Germany*, as is notorious to daily
 observation, the bishops, if we except their habit, their
 title, and a few ceremonies that distinguish them, have
 nothing, in their manner of living, that is, in the least,
 adapted to point out the nature of their sacred office.
 In other countries, a great part of the episcopal order,
 unmolested by the remonstrances, or reproofs, of the
 Roman pontiff, pass their days amidst the pleasures and
 cabals of courts, and appear rather the slaves of temporal
 princes, than the servants of him *whose kingdom is not of*
this world. They court glory ; they aspire after riches,
 while very few employ their time and labours in edifying
 their

their people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit C E N T. of practical religion and substantial virtue. Nay, what XVI. is still more deplorable, those bishops, who, sensible of SECT. III. the sanctity of their character and the duties of their PART I. office, distinguish themselves by their zeal in the cause of virtue and good morals, are frequently exposed to the malicious efforts of envy, often loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds. It may, indeed, be partly owing to the examples they have received, and still, too often, receive, from the heads of the church, that so many of the bishops live dissolved in the arms of luxury, or toiling in the service of ambition. Many of them, perhaps, would have been more attentive to their vocation, and more exemplary in their manners, had they not been corrupted by the models exhibited to them by the bishops of *Rome*, and had constantly before their eyes a splendid succession of popes and cardinals, remarkable only for their luxury and avarice, their arrogance and vindictive spirit, their voluptuousness and vanity.

That part of the clergy that go under the denomination of *canons*, continue, almost every where, their ancient course of life, and consume, in a manner far remote from piety and virtue, the treasures which the religious zeal and liberality of their ancestors had consecrated to the uses of the church and the relief of the poor.

It must not, however, be imagined, that all the other orders of the clergy are at liberty to follow such corrupt models, or, indeed, that their inclinations and reigning habits tend towards such a loose and voluptuous manner of living. For it is certain, that the Reformation had a manifest influence, even upon the Roman-catholic clergy, by rendering them, at least, more circumspect and cautious in their external conduct, that they might be thus less obnoxious to the censures of their adversaries; and it is accordingly well known, that since that period the clergy of the inferior orders have been more attentive to the rules of outward decency, and have given less offence by open and scandalous vices and excesses, than they had formerly done.

XVI. The same observation holds good with respect Monks — to the Monastic orders. There are, indeed, several The ancient orders re- things, formed.

CENT. XVI. things, worthy of the severest animadversion, chargeable upon many of the heads and rulers of these societies; SECT. III. nor are these societies themselves entirely exempt from PART I. that laziness, intemperance, ignorance, artifice, discord, and voluptuousness, that were, formerly, the common and reigning vices in the Monastic retreats. It would be, nevertheless, an instance of great partiality and injustice to deny, that in many countries the manner of living, among these religious orders, has been considerably reformed, severe rules employed to restrain licentiousness, and much pains taken to conceal at least any vestiges of ancient corruption and irregularity that may yet remain. In some places, the austerity of the ancient rules of discipline, which had been so shamefully relaxed, was restored by several zealous patrons of Monastic devotion; while others, animated with the same zeal, instituted new communities, in order to promote, as they piously imagined, a spirit of religion, and thus to contribute to the well-being of the church.

Of this latter number was MATTHEW DE BASSI, a native of *Italy*, the extent of whose capacity was much inferior to the goodness of his intentions, and who was a Franciscan of the more rigid class [i], who were zealous in *observing* rigorously the primitive rules of their institution. This honest enthusiast seriously persuaded himself, that he was divinely inspired with the zeal that impelled him to restore the original and genuine rules of the Franciscan order to their primitive austerity; and, looking upon this violent and irresistible impulse as a celestial commission attended with sufficient authority, he set himself to this work of Monastic reformation with the most devout assiduity and ardour [k]. His enterprize

☞ [i] The dispute that arose among the Franciscans by INNOCENT IV's relaxing so far their *institute* as to allow of *property* and *possessions* in their community, produced a division of the order into two classes, of which the most considerable, who adopted the papal relaxation, were denominated *Conventuals*, and the other, who rejected it, *Brethren of the Observance*. The latter professed to *observe* and follow rigorously the primitive laws and institute of their founder.

☞ [k] The *Brethren of the Observance*, mentioned in the preceding note, had degenerated, in process of time, from their primitive self-denial; and hence the reforming spirit that animated BASSI.

was honoured, in the year 1525, with the solemn appro-
 bation of CLEMENT VII; and this was the origin of
 the order of *Capuchins*. The vows of this order implied
 the greatest contempt of the world and its enjoyments,
 and the most profound humility accompanied with the
 most austere and sullen gravity of external aspect [l];
 and its reputation and success excited, in the other Fran-
 ciscans, the most bitter feelings of indignation and
 envy [m]. The *Capuchins* were so called from the sharp-
 pointed *Capuche*, or Cowl [n], which they added to the
 ordinary Franciscan habit, and which is supposed to have
 been used by St. FRANCIS himself, as a covering for his
 head [o].

Another branch of the Franciscan order formed a new
 community, under the denomination of *Recollets* in *France*,
Reformed Franciscans in *Italy*, and *Bare-footed Franciscans*
 in *Spain*, and were erected into a separate order, with
 their respective laws and rules of discipline, in the year
 1532, by the authority of CLEMENT VII. They differ
 from the other Franciscans in this only, that they pro-
 fess to follow, with greater zeal and exactness, the austere
 institute of their common founder and chief; and hence
 also they were called *Friars Minors of the strict ob-
 servance* [p].

[l] See LUC. WADDINGI *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. xvi. p. 207.
 257. edit. Roman.—HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. vii.
 ch. xxiv. p. 264.—And, above all, ZACH. BOVERII *Annales Capuci-
 norum*.

[m] One of the circumstances that exasperated most the Franciscans,
 was the innovation made in their habit by the *Capuchins*. Whatever was the
 cause of their choler, true it is, that their provincial persecuted the new
 monks, and obliged them to fly from place to place, until they at last took
 refuge in the palace of the duke of *Camerino*, by whose credit they were re-
 ceived under the obedience of the *Conventuals*, in the quality of *bermits minors*,
 in the year 1527. The next year the pope approved this union, and con-
 firmed to them the privilege of wearing the square *capuche*; and thus the
 order was established in 1528.

[n] I know not on what authority the learned MICHAEL GEDDES
 attributes the erection and denomination of this order to one FRANCIS
 PUCHINE.

[o] See DU FRESNE, *Glossarium Latinitat. Medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 298.
 edit. *Benedict.*

[p] See WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. xvi. p. 157.—HELYOT, *Histoire des
 Ordres Monast.* tom. vii, ch. xviii. p. 129.

St.

C E N T.
XVI.
SECT. III.
P A R T I.

St. THERESA, a Spanish lady of an illustrious family, undertook the difficult task of reforming the Carmelite order [q], which had departed much from its primitive sanctity, and of restoring its neglected and violated laws to their original credit and authority. Her associate, in this arduous attempt, was JOHANNES DE SANTA CRUSA, and her enterprize was not wholly destitute of success, notwithstanding the opposition she met with from the greatest part of the *Carmelites*. Hence the order was, during the space of ten years, divided into two branches, of which one followed a milder rule of discipline, while the other embraced an institute of the most severe and self-denying kind [r]. But, as these different rules of life among the members of the same community were a perpetual source of animosity and discord, the more austere or *bare-footed Carmelites* were separated from the others, and formed into a distinct body, in the year 1580, by GREGORY XIII, at the particular desire of PHILIP II, king of *Spain*. This separation was confirmed, in the year 1587, by SIXTUS V, and completed, in 1593, by CLEMENT VIII, who allowed the *bare-footed Carmelites* to have their own chief, or *general*. But, after having withdrawn themselves from the others, these austere friars quarrelled among themselves, and in a few years their dissensions grew to an intolerable height; hence they were divided anew, by the pontiff last mentioned, into two communities, each of which were governed by their respective *general* [s].

New Mo-
nastic or-
ders.

XVII. The most eminent of all the new orders that were instituted in this century, was, beyond all doubt, that of the *Jesuits*, which we have already had occasion to mention, in speaking of the chief pillars of the church of *Rome*, and the principal supports of the declining authority of its pontiffs. Compared with this aspiring and formidable society, all the other religious orders appear inconsiderable and obscure. The Reformation, among

[q] Otherwise called the *White Fryars*.

[r] The former, who were the *Carmelites of the ancient observance*, were called the *moderate* or *mitigated*; while the latter, who were of the *strict observance*, were distinguished by the denomination of *bare-footed Carmelites*.

[s] HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. i. ch. xlvii. p. 340.

the

the other changes which it occasioned, even in the Ro- C E N T.
man church, by exciting the circumspection and emu- XVI.
lation of those who still remained addicted to popery, SECT. III.
gave rise to various communities, which were all com- PART I.
prehended under the general denomination of *Regular Clerks*. And as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with a design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of piety and virtue that had distinguished the sacred order in the primitive times; this was a plain, though tacit confession of the present corruption of the clergy, and consequently of the indispensable necessity of the Reformation.

The first society of these regular clerks was formed in the year 1524, under the denomination of *Theatins*, which they derived from their principal founder JOHN PETER CARAFFA (then bishop of *Theate*, or *Chieti*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards pope, under the title of PAUL IV) who was assisted in this pious undertaking, by CAJETAN, or GAETAN, and other devout associates. These monks, being by their vows destitute of all possessions and revenues, and even secluded from the resource of begging, subsist entirely upon the voluntary liberality of pious persons. They are called by their profession and institute to revive a spirit of devotion, to purify and reform the eloquence of the pulpit, to assist the sick and the dying by their spiritual instructions and counsels, and to combat heretics of all denominations with zeal and assiduity [1]. There are also some female convents established under the rule and title of this order.

The establishment of the *Theatins* was followed by that of the *Regular Clerks of St. Paul*, so called from their having chosen that apostle for their patron; though they are more commonly known under the denomination of *Barnabites*, from the church of St. BARNABAS, at *Milan*, which was bestowed upon them in the year 1545. This order, which was approved by CLEMENT VII, and confirmed about three years after by PAUL III, was originally founded by ANTONIO MAVIA ZACHARIAS of *Cremona*, and BARTHOLOMEW FERRARI, and JACOB. ANT. MORIGIA, noblemen of *Milan*. Its members

[1] HENRYOT, *ibid.* tom. iv, ch. xii. p. 71.

were

C E N T. were at first obliged to live after the manner of the
 XVI. *Theatins*, renouncing all worldly goods and possessions,
 SECT. III. and depending upon the spontaneous donations of the
 PART I. liberal for their daily subsistence. But they grew soon
 weary of this precarious method of living from hand to
 mouth, and therefore took the liberty, in process of time,
 of securing to their community certain possessions and
 stated revenues. Their principal function is to go from
 place to place, like the apostles, in order to convert sin-
 ners and bring back transgressors into the paths of repent-
 ance and obedience [u].

The *Regular Clerks of St. Maieul*, who are also called
the fathers of Somasque, from the place where their com-
 munity was first established, and which was also the re-
 sidence of their founder, were erected into a distinct so-
 ciety by JEROME ÆMILIANI, a noble Venetian, and
 were afterwards successively confirmed, in the years 1540
 and 1563, by the Roman pontiffs PAUL III and
 PIUS IV [w]. Their chief occupation was to instruct
 the ignorant, and particularly young persons, in the
 principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to
 procure assistance for those that were reduced to the un-
 happy condition of orphans. The same important mi-
 nistry was committed to the *Fathers of the Christian doctrine*
 in *France* and *Italy*. The order that bore this title in
France was instituted by CÆSAR DE BUS, and confirmed,
 in the year 1597, by CLEMENT VIII; while that which
 is known in *Italy* under the same denomination, derives
 its origin from MARK CUSANI, a Milanese knight, and
 was established by the approbation and authority of
 PIUS V and GREGORY XIII.

Other new
 religious
 commu-
 nities.

XVIII. It would be an endless and, indeed, an un-
 profitable labour to enumerate particularly that prodi-
 gious multitude of less considerable orders and religious
 associations, that were instituted in *Germany* and other
 countries, from an apprehension of the pretended heretics,
 who disturbed by their innovations the peace, or rather

[u] HELYOT, *loc. cit.* tom. iv. ch. xvi. p. 100.—In the same part of
 this incomparable work, this learned author gives a most accurate, ample,
 and interesting account of the other religious orders, which are here, for
 brevity's sake, but barely mentioned.

[w] *Acta Sanctorum, Februar.* tom. ii. p. 217.

the lethargy, of the church. For certainly no age produced such a swarm of monks, and such a number of convents, as that in which LUTHER and the other reformers opposed the divine light and power of the gospel to ignorance, superstition, and papal tyranny. We therefore pass over in silence these less important establishments, of which many have been long buried in oblivion, because they were erected on unstable foundations, while numbers have been suppressed by the wisdom of certain pontiffs, who have considered the multitude of these communities rather as prejudicial than advantageous to the church. Nor can we take particular notice of the female convents, or nunneries, among which the *Ursulines* shine forth with a superior lustre both in point of number and dignity. The *Priests of the Oratory*, founded in *Italy* by PHILIP NERI, a native of *Florence*, and publicly honoured with the protection of GREGORY XIII, in the year 1577, must, however, be excepted from this general silence, on account of the eminent figure they have made in the republic of letters. It was this community that produced BARONIUS, RAYNALDUS, and LADERCHIUS, who hold so high a rank among the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and following centuries; and there are still to be found in it men of considerable erudition and capacity. The name of this religious society was derived from an apartment, accommodated in the form of an *Oratory* [x], or cabinet for devotion, which St. PHILIP NERI built at *Florence* for himself, and in which for many years he held spiritual conferences with his more intimate companions [y].

XIX. It is too evident to admit of the least dispute, that all kinds of erudition, whether sacred or profane, were held in much higher esteem in the western world since the time of LUTHER, than they had been before that auspicious period. The Jesuits, more especially, boast, and perhaps not without reason, that their society

The state of
learning.

[x] HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, &c. tom. viii. ch. iv. p. 12.

[y] He was peculiarly assisted in these conferences by BARONIUS, author of the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, who also succeeded him as general of the order, and whose *Annals*, on account of his imperfect knowledge of the Greek language, are so remarkably full of gross faults, misrepresentations, and blunders.

contributed

C E N T. contributed more, at least in this century, to the culture
 XVI. of the languages, the improvement of the arts, and the
 SECT. III. advancement of true science, than all the rest of the re-
 PART I. ligious orders. It is certain, that the schools and acad-
 emies, either through indolence or design, persisted ob-
 stinately in their ancient method of teaching, though
 that method was intricate and disagreeable in many re-
 spects; nor would they suffer themselves to be better
 informed, or permit the least change in their uncouth and
 disgusting systems. The monks were not more re-
 markable for their docility than the schools; nor did they
 seem at all disposed to admit into the retreats of their
 gloomy cloisters a more solid and elegant method of in-
 struction, than they had been formerly accustomed to.
 These facts furnish a rational account of the surprising
 variety that appears in the *style* and *manner* of the writers
 of this age, of whom several express their sentiments with
 elegance, perspicuity, and order, while the diction of a
 great part of their contemporaries is barbarous, perplexed,
 obscure, and insipid.

CÆSAR BARONIUS, already mentioned, undertook to
 throw light on the history of religion by his annals of the
 Christian church; but this pretended light was scarcely
 any thing better than perplexity and darkness [z]. His
 example, however, excited many to enterprizes of the
 same nature. The attempts of the persons they called
 heretics rendered indeed such enterprizes necessary:
 for these heretics, with the learned FLACKIUS and
 CHEMNITZ at their head [a], demonstrated with the ut-
 most evidence, that not only the declarations of holy
 scripture, but also the testimony of ancient history, and

[z] The learned ISAAC CASAUBON undertook a refutation of the *Annals*
 of BARONIUS, in an excellent work, entitled, *Exercitationes*, &c. and though
 he carried it no farther down than the 34th year of the Christian æra, yet
 he pointed out a prodigious number of palpable and (many of them) shameful
 errors, into which the Romish annalist has fallen during that short space.
 Even the Roman catholic *Literati* acknowledge the inaccuracies and faults
 of BARONIUS; hence many learned men, such as PAGI, NORIS, and
 TILLEMONT, have been employed to correct them. And accordingly a
 few years ago a new edition of these *Annals* was published at Lucca, with the
 corrections of these reviewers at the foot of each page.

[a] The former in the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*; the latter in his *Examen*
Concilii Tridentini.

the

the records of the primitive church, were in direct op-
 position both to the doctrines and pretensions of the
 church of *Rome*. This was wounding popery with its
 own arms, and attacking it in its pretended strong holds.
 It was, therefore, incumbent upon the friends of *Rome*
 to employ, while it was time, their most zealous efforts
 in maintaining the credit of those ancient fables, on
 which the greatest part of the papal authority reposed, as
 its only foundation and support.

XX. Several men of genius in *France* and *Italy*, who
 have been already mentioned with the esteem that is due
 to their valuable labours [b], used their most zealous en-
 deavours to reform the barbarous philosophy of the times.
 But the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to
 the Aristotelian philosophy on the one hand, and, on the
 other, the timorous prudence of many weak minds, who
 were apprehensive that the liberty of striking out new
 discoveries and ways of thinking might be prejudicial to
 the church, and open a new source of division and dis-
 cord, crushed all these generous endeavours, and ren-
 dered them ineffectual. The throne of the subtle Stagi-
 rite remained therefore unshaken; and his philosophy,
 whose very obscurity afforded a certain gloomy kind of
 pleasure, and flattered the pride of those who were im-
 plicitly supposed to understand it, reigned unrivalled in
 the schools and monasteries. It even acquired new cred-
 it and authority from the Jesuits, who taught it in their
 colleges, and made use of it in their writings and dis-
 putes. By this, however, these artful ecclesiastics shewed
 evidently, that the captious jargon and subtilties of that
 intricate philosophy were much more adapted to puzzle
 heretics, and to give the popish doctors at least the ap-
 pearance of carrying on the controversy with success,
 than the plain and obvious method of disputing, which is
 pointed out by the genuine and unbiaſſed dictates of
 right reason.

XXI. The church of *Rome* produced, in this century,
 a prodigious number of theological writers. The most
 eminent of these, both in point of reputation and merit,
 are as follow: THOMAS DE VIO, otherwise named
 Cardinal CAJETAN,—ECKIUS,—COCHLÆUS,—EMSER,

The state of
 philosophy.
 Theological
 writers of
 the Romish
 persuasion.

[b] See above, Sect. II. VIII, and IX.

C. E. N. T. —SURIUS, —HOSIUS, —FABER, —SADOLET, —PIGHIIUS,
 XVI. —Vatable, —CANUS, —D'ESPENCE, —CARANZA, —
 SECT. III. MALDONAT, —TURRIANUS, —ARIAS MONTANUS, —
 PART I. CATHARINUS, —REGINALD POLE, —SIXTUS SENENSIS,
 —CASSANDER, —PAYA D'ANDRADA —BAIUS, —PA-
 MELIUS, and others [c].

The princi-
 ples of the
 Roman ca-
 tholic faith.

XXII. The religion of *Rome*, which the pontiffs are so desirous of imposing upon the faith of all that bear the Christian name, is derived, according to the unanimous accounts of its doctors, from two sources, the *written word of God*, and the *unwritten*; or, in other words, from *scripture* and *tradition*. But as the most eminent divines of that church are far from being agreed concerning the person or persons, who are authorized to interpret the declarations of these two oracles, and to determine their sense; so it may be asserted with truth, that there is, as yet, no possibility of knowing with certainty what are the real doctrines of the church of *Rome*, nor where, in that communion, the judge of religious controversies is to be found. It is true, the court of *Rome*, and all those who favour the despotic pretensions of its pontiff, maintain that he alone, who governs the church as CHRIST'S vice-gerent, is entitled to explain and determine the sense of *scripture* and *tradition* in matters pertaining to salvation, and that, of consequence, a devout and unlimited obedience is due to his decisions. To give weight to this opinion, PIUS IV formed the plan of a council, which was afterwards instituted and confirmed by SIXTUS V, and called the *Congregation for interpreting the decrees of the council of Trent*. This congregation was authorized to examine and decide, in the name of the pope, all matters of small moment relating to ecclesiastical discipline, while every debate of any consequence, and particularly all disquisitions concerning points of faith and doctrine, were left to the decision of the pontiff alone, as the great oracle of the church [d]. But not-

[c] For an ample account of the literary character, rank, and writings of these learned men, and of several others whose names are here omitted, see LOUIS ELL. DU PIN, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xiv & xvi.

[d] See AYMON, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part V. ch. iv. p. 282. Hence it was that the approbation of INNOCENT XI was refused to the artful and insidious work of BOSSUET, bishop of Meaux, entitled, *An Ex-*
 withstanding

withstanding all this, it was impossible to persuade the C E N T. wiser part of the Roman-catholic body to acknowledge XVI. this exclusive authority in their head. And accordingly, SECT. III. the greatest part of the Gallican church, and a considerable number of very learned men of the popish religion in other countries, think very differently from the court of *Rome* on this subject. They maintain, that all bishops and doctors have a right to consult the sacred fountains of *scripture* and *tradition*, and to draw from thence the rules of faith and manners for themselves and their flock; and that all difficult points and debates of consequence are to be referred to the cognizance and decision of general councils. Such is the difference of opinion (with respect to the determination of doctrine and controversies) that still divides the church of *Rome*; and as no judge has been, nor perhaps can be found, to compose it, we may therefore reasonably despair of seeing the religion of *Rome* acquire a permanent, stable, and determined form.

XXIII. The council of *Trent* was assembled, as was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigour of its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. But in the opinion of those who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaints of the wisest men in both communions. They complain that many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points (that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate) were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay imposed, with violence, upon the consciences of the people, under pain of excommunication. They complain of the ambiguity that reigns in the decrees and declarations of that council, by which the disputes and dissensions, that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear definitions and wise and charitable decisions, were

The council
of *Trent*.

position of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, until the author had suppressed entirely the first edition of that work, and made corrections and alterations in the second.

C E N T. rendered, on the contrary, more perplexed and intricate,
 XVI. and were in reality propagated and multiplied instead of
 SECT. III. being suppressed or diminished. Nor were these the only
 PART I. reasons of complaint; for it must have been afflicting to those that had the cause of true religion and Christian liberty at heart, to see all things decided, in that assembly, according to the despotic will of the Roman pontiff, without any regard to the dictates of truth, or the authority of scripture, its genuine and authentic source, and to see the assembled fathers reduced to silence by the Roman legates, and deprived, by these insolent representatives of the papacy, of that influence and credit, that might have rendered them capable of healing the wounds of the church. It was moreover a grievance justly to be complained of, that the few wise and pious regulations, that were made in that council, were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to degenerate into a mere lifeless form or shadow of law, which was treated with indifference and transgressed with impunity. To sum up all in one word, the most candid and impartial observers of things consider the council of *Trent* as an assembly that was more attentive to what might maintain the despotic authority of the pontiff, than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church. It will not therefore appear surprising, that there are certain doctors of the Romish church, who, instead of submitting to the decisions of the council of *Trent*, as an ultimate rule of faith, maintain, on the contrary, that these decisions are to be explained by the dictates of *scripture* and the language of *tradition*. Nor, when all these things were duly considered, shall we have reason to wonder that this council has not throughout the same degree of credit and authority, even in those countries that profess the Roman catholic religion [e].

Some countries, indeed, such as *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Italy*, have adopted *implicitly* and *absolutely* the decrees of this council, without the smallest restriction of any kind. But in other places it has been received and acknow-

☞ [e] The translator has here inserted into the text the note [b] of the original, and has thrown the citations it contains into different notes.

ledged on certain conditions, which modify, not a little, C E N T. XVI. SECT. III. PART I. its pretended authority. Among these latter we may reckon the Spanish dominions, which disputed, during many years, the authority of this council, and acknowledged it at length only so far as it could be adopted *without any prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain* [f]. In other countries, such as *France* [g] and *Hungary* [h], it never has been solemnly received or publicly acknowledged. It is true indeed, that, in the former of these kingdoms, those decrees of *Trent* that relate to points of religious doctrine, have, *tacitly and imperceptibly*, through the power of custom, acquired the force and authority of a rule of faith; but those which regard external discipline, spiritual power, and ecclesiastical government, have been constantly rejected, both in a public and private manner, as inconsistent with the authority and prerogatives of the throne, and prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church [i].

XXIV. Notwithstanding all this, such as are desirous of forming some notion of the religion of *Rome*, will do well to consult the decrees of the council of *Trent*, together with the compendious *confession of faith*, which was drawn up by the order of *Pius IV.* Those, however, who expect to derive, from these sources, a clear, complete, and perfect knowledge of the *Romish* faith, will be greatly disappointed. To evince the truth of this assertion, it might be observed, as has been already hinted, that, both in the decrees of *Trent* and in this papal con-

The principal heads of the Roman-catholic religion.

[f] See GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 235.

[g] See HECT. GODOFR. MASII *Diff. de Contentu Concilii Tridentini in Gallia*, which is published among his other dissertations collected into one volume. See also the excellent discourse which Dr. COURRAYER has subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of PAUL SARTI'S *History of the Council of Trent*, entitled, *Discours sur la Reception du Concile de Trente, particulierement en France*, p. 775. 789.

[h] See LORANDI SAMUELOF, *Vita Andr. Dudithii*, p. 56.

[i] See LOD. ELL. DU PIN, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xv. p. 380.

For what relates to the Literary History of the Council of *Trent*, the historians that have transmitted accounts of it, and other circumstances of that nature, see JO. CHR. KOCHERI *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 325. 377. as also SALIG'S *History of the Council of Trent* (in German), p. 190—320.

C E N T.
XVI.
SECT. III.
PART I.

cession, many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that then reigned in the church. This other singular circumstance might also be added, that several tenets are omitted in both, which no Roman-catholic is allowed to deny, or even to call in question. But, waving both these considerations, let it only be observed, that in these *decrees* and in this *confession* several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church, and in the public practice of its members [A]. Hence we may conclude, that the justest notion of the doctrine of *Rome* is not to be derived so much from the terms made use of in the decrees of the council of *Trent*, as from the *real signification* of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions, and observances, that are, every where, in use in the Romish church. Add to all this, another consideration, which is, that in the bulls issued out from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines, which were obscurely proposed in the council of *Trent*, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this CLEMENT XI gave a notorious example, in the famous *bull* called UNIGENITUS, which was an enterprize as audacious as it proved unsuccessful.

The state of
exegetic
theology, or
scripture-
knowledge. XXV. As soon as the popes perceived the remarkable detriment their authority had suffered from the accurate interpretations of the holy scriptures that had been given by the learned, and the perusal of these divine oracles, which was now grown more common among the people, they left no methods unemployed that might discourage the culture of this most important branch of sacred cru-

[A] This is true, in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of *Trent*, relating to the doctrine of *purgatory*, the invocation of *saints*, the worship of *images and relicks*. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen, so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the *philosophical* sense of that word; for in the *scripture-sense* they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman-catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word.

dition.

dition. While the tide of resentment ran high, they forgot themselves in the most unaccountable manner. They permitted their champions to indulge themselves openly in reflections injurious to the dignity of the sacred writings, and, by an excess of blasphemy almost incredible (if the passions of men did not render them capable of the greatest enormities) to declare publicly, that the edicts of the pontiffs and the records of oral tradition were superior, in point of authority, to the express language of the holy scriptures. But as it was impossible to bring the sacred writings wholly into disrepute, they took the most effectual methods in their power to render them obscure and useless. For this purpose the ancient Latin translation of the Bible, commonly called the *Vulgate*, though it abounds with innumerable gross errors, and, in a great number of places, exhibits the most shocking barbarity of style, and the most impenetrable obscurity with respect to the sense of the inspired writers, was declared, by a solemn decree of the council of *Trent*, an *authentic*, i. e. a *faithful, accurate, and perfect* [1] translation, and was consequently recommended as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure. It was easy to foresee that such a declaration was every way adapted to keep the people in ignorance, and to veil from their understandings the true meaning of the sacred

[1] If we consult the canons of the council of *Trent*, we shall find that the word *authentic* is there explained in terms less positive and offensive than those used by Dr. MOSHEIM. Nor is it strictly true, that the *Vulgate* was declared by this council as a production *beyond the reach of criticism or censure*; since, as we learn from FRA-PAOLO, it was determined that this Version should be corrected, and a new edition of it published by persons appointed for that purpose*. There was, indeed, something highly ridiculous in the proceedings of the council in relation to this point; for, if the natural order of things had been observed, the revisal and correction of the *Vulgate* would have preceded the pompous approbation with which the council honoured, and, as it were, consecrated that ancient Version. For how, with any shadow of good sense, could the assembled fathers set the seal of their approbation to a work which they acknowledged to stand in need of correction, and that before they knew whether or not the correction would answer their views and merit their approbation?

* See FRA-PAOLO SARPI'S *History of the Council of Trent*, book II. par. LIII. and Dr. COURRAYER'S French translation of this History, vol. i. p. 284. note (29).

C E N T. XVI. writings. In the same council, farther steps were taken
 S E C T. III. to execute, with success, the designs of *Rome*. A severe
 P A R T I. and intolerable law was enacted, with respect to all in-
 terpreters and expositors of the scriptures, by which they
 were forbidden to explain the sense of these divine books,
in matters relating to faith and practice, in such a manner
 as to make them speak a different language from that of
 the church and the ancient doctors [m]. The same law
 farther declared, that the church alone (*i. e.* its ruler, the
 Roman pontiff) had the right of determining the true
 meaning and signification of scripture. To fill up the
 measure of these tyrannical and iniquitous proceedings,
 the church of *Rome* persisted obstinately in affirming,
 though not always with the same impudence and plainness
 of speech, that the holy scriptures were not composed
 for the use of the multitude, but only for that of their
 spiritual teachers; and, of consequence, ordered these
 divine records to be taken from the people in all places
 where it was allowed to execute its imperious com-
 mands [n].

Commenta-
 tors and ex-
 positors of
 the holy
 scriptures.

XXVI. These circumstances had a visible influence
 upon the spirit and productions of the commentators and
 expositors of scripture, which the example of LUTHER
 and his followers had rendered, through emulation, ex-
 tremely numerous. The popish doctors, who vied with
 the protestants in this branch of sacred erudition, were
 insipid, timorous, servilely attached to the glory and in-
 terests of the court of *Rome*, and discovered in their ex-
 plications all the marks of slavish dependance and con-
 straint. They seem to have been in constant terror lest
 any expression should escape from their pen that favoured
 of opinions different from what were commonly received;
 they appeal, every moment, to the declarations and au-
 thority of the holy *fathers*, as they usually stile them;

[m] It is remarkable, that this prohibition extends even to such in-
 terpretations as were not designed for public view. *Etiamsi hujusmodi inter-
 pretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edenda forent.* Sessio 4ta, tit.
 cap. ii.

[n] The pontiffs were not allowed to execute this despotic order in all
 countries that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the church of *Rome*. The
 French and some other nations have the Bible in their mother-tongue, in
 which they peruse it, though much against the will of the creatures of the
 pope.

nor

nor do they appear to have so much consulted the real doctrines taught by the sacred writers, as the language and sentiments which the church of *Rome* has taken the liberty to put into their mouths. Several of these commentators rack their imaginations in order to force out of each passage of scripture the four kinds of significations, called *Literal*, *Allegorical*, *Tropological*, and *Anagogical*, which ignorance and superstition had first invented, and afterwards held so sacred, in the explication of the inspired writings. Nor was their attachment to this manner of interpretation so ill imagined, since it enabled them to make the sacred writers speak the language that was favourable to the views of the church, and to draw out of the Bible, with the help of a little subtilty, whatever doctrine they had a mind to impose upon the credulity of the multitude.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that, besides these miserable commentators that dishonour the church of *Rome*, there were some in its communion, who had wisdom enough to despise these senseless methods of interpretation, and who, avoiding all mysterious significations and fancies, followed the plain, natural, and literal sense of the expressions used in the holy scriptures. In this class the most eminent were ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*, who translated into Latin, with an elegant and faithful simplicity, the books of the New Testament, and explained them with judgment in a paraphrase which is deservedly esteemed; Cardinal CAJETAN, who disputed with LUTHER at *Augsburg*, and who gave a brief, but judicious exposition of almost all the books of the Old and New Testament; FRANCIS TITELMAN, ISIDORUS CLARIUS, JOHN MALDONAT, BENEDICT JUSTINIAN, who acquired no mean reputation by their commentaries on the Epistles of St. *Paul*. To these may be added GAINY, D'ESPENCE, and other Expositors [a]. But these eminent men, whose example was so adapted to excite emulation, had almost no followers; and, in a short space of time, their influence was gone, and their labours were forgot. For, towards the conclusion of this century, EDMUND RICHER, that strenuous opposer of the encroachments made by the pontiffs on the liberties of the

[a] See SIMON, *Hist. Critique du Vieux et de Nouv. Testament.*

CENT.
XVI.
SECT. III.
PART I.

The state of
didactic
theology.

Gallican church, was the only doctor in the university of *Paris* who followed the literal sense and the plain and natural signification of the words of scripture; while all the other commentators and interpreters, imitating the pernicious example of several ancient expositors, were always racking their brains for mysterious and sublime significations, where none such were, nor could be, designed by the sacred writers [p].

XXVII. The seminaries of learning were filled, before the Reformation, with that subtle kind of theological doctors, commonly known under the denomination of *schoolmen*; so that even at *Paris*, which was considered as the principal seat of sacred erudition, no doctors were to be found who were capable of disputing with the protestant divines in the method they generally pursued, which was that of proving the doctrines they maintained by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the fathers. This uncommon scarcity of *didactical* and *scriptural* divines produced much confusion and perplexity, on many occasions, even in the council of *Trent*; where the scholastic doctors fatigued some, and almost turned the heads of others, by examining and explaining the doctrines that were there proposed, according to the intricate and ambiguous rules of their captious philosophy. Hence it became absolutely necessary to reform the methods of proceeding in theological disquisitions, and to restore to its former credit that which drew the truths of religion more from the dictates of the sacred writings, and from the sentiments of the ancient doctors, than from the uncertain suggestions of human reason, and the ingenious conjectures of philosophy [q]. It was,

[p] See BAILLET, *Vie d'Edmund Richer*, p. 9, 10.

[q] See DU BOULAY's account of the Reformation of the Theological Faculty, or College at *Paris*, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 790. In this reform, the Bachelors of Divinity, called *Sententarii* and *Biblici*, are particularly distinguished; and (what is extremely remarkable) the *Augustine* monks, who were LUTHER's fraternity, are ordered to furnish the college of divinity once a-year with a *scriptural Bachelor* (*Baccalaureum Biblicum præsentare*); from whence we may conclude, that the monks of the *Augustine* order, to which LUTHER belonged, were much more conversant in the study of the Holy Scriptures than the other Monastic societies. But this academical law deserves to be quoted here at length, and that so much the more as DU BOULAY's History is in few hands. It is as follows:

however,

however, impossible to deprive entirely the scholastic di-
vines of the ascendant they had acquired in the semina-
ries of learning, and had so long maintained almost with-
out opposition. Nay, after having been threatened with
a diminution of their authority, they seemed to resume
new vigour from the time that the Jesuits adopted their
philosophy, and made use of their subtle dialectic, as a
more effectual armour against the attacks of the heretics,
than either the language of scripture, or the authority
of the fathers. And, indeed, this intricate jargon of the
schools was every way proper to answer the purposes of a
set of men, who found it necessary to puzzle and perplex,
where they could neither refute with perspicuity, nor
prove with evidence. Thus they artfully concealed their
defeat, and retreated, in the dazzled eyes of the multi-
tude, with the appearance of victory [r].

C E N T.
XVI.
S E C T. III.
P A R T I.

The Mystics lost almost all their credit in the church
of *Rome* after the Reformation; and that, partly on ac-
count of the favourable reception they found among the
protestants, and partly in consequence of their pacific
system, which, giving them an aversion to controversy in
general, rendered them little disposed to defend the papal
cause against its numerous and formidable adversaries.
These enthusiasts however were, in some measure, tole-
rated in the church of *Rome*, and allowed to indulge
themselves in their philosophical speculations, on certain
conditions, which obliged them to abstain from censuring
either the laws or the corruptions of the church, and
from declaiming, with their usual freedom and vehe-

Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum præsentabunt, secundum statutum fol. 21. quod sequitur: Quilibet ordo Mendicantium et Collegium S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum qui legat ordinarie, alioqui priventur Baccalaureo sententiariorum. It appears by this law, that each of the Mendicant orders was, by a decree of the Theological Faculty, obliged to furnish, yearly, a *scriptural Bachelor* (such was *LUTHER*); and yet we see, that in the *Reformation* already mentioned, this obligation is imposed upon none but the Augustine monks; from which it is natural to conclude, that the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the other Mendicants, had entirely neglected the study of the Scriptures, and consequently had among them no *scriptural Bachelors*; and that the Augustine monks alone were in a condition to satisfy the demands of the Theological Faculty.

☞ [r] The translator has added the two last sentences of this paragraph, to illustrate more fully the sense of the author.

mence,

C E N T. mence, against the vanity of external worship, and the
XVI. dissensions of jarring and contentious doctors.

SECT. III.
PART I.

The state of
morality and
practical re-
ligion.

XXVIII. There was no successful attempt made, in this century, to correct or improve the practical or moral system of doctrine that was followed in the church of *Rome*; nor, indeed, could any make such an attempt without drawing upon him the displeasure, and perhaps the fury, of the papal hierarchy. For, in reality, such a project of reformation seemed in no wise conducive to the *interests* of the church, as these interests were understood by its ambitious and rapacious rulers. And it is undoubtedly certain, that many doctrines and regulations, on which the power, opulence, and grandeur of that church essentially depended, would have run the risk of falling into discredit and contempt, if the pure and rational system of morality, contained in the gospel, had been exhibited, in its native beauty and simplicity, to the view and perusal of all Christians without distinction. Little or no zeal was therefore exerted in amending or improving the doctrines that immediately relate to practice. On the contrary, many persons of eminent piety and integrity, in the communion of *Rome*, have grievously complained (with what justice shall be shewn in its proper place [s]), that, as soon as the Jesuits had gained an ascendant in the courts of princes and in the schools of learning, the cause of virtue began visibly to decline. It has been alleged, more particularly, that this artful order employed all the force of their subtle distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and, in process of time, opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness and iniquity, by the loose and dissolute rules of conduct they propagated as far as their influence extended. This poisonous doctrine spread, indeed, its contagion, in a latent manner, during the sixteenth century; but, in the following age, its abettors ventured to expose some specimens of its turpitude to public view, and thus gave occasion to great commotions in several parts of *Europe*.

All the moral writers of the *Romish* church, in this century, may be distinguished into three classes, the *Schoolmen*, the *Dogmatists* [t], and the *Mystics*. The first

[s] See Cent. XVII. Sect. II. Part I. Chap. I. § XXXIV.

[t] The reader will easily perceive, by the short account of explained,

explained, or rather obscured, the virtues and duties of the Christian life, by knotty distinctions, and unintelligible forms of speech, and buried them under an enormous load of arguments and demonstrations. The second illustrated them from the declarations of scripture and the opinions of the ancient doctors. While the third placed the whole of morality in the tranquillity of a mind, withdrawn from all sensible objects, and habitually employed in the contemplation of the divine nature.

XXIX. The number of combatants that the pontiffs brought into the field of controversy, during this century, was prodigious, and their glaring defects are abundantly known. It may be said, with truth, of the most of them, that, like many warriors of another class, they generally lost sight of all considerations, except those of victory and plunder. The disputants, which the order of Jesuits sent forth in great number, against the adversaries of the church of *Rome*, surpassed all the rest in subtilty, impudence, and invective. But the chief leader and champion of the polemic tribe was ROBERT BELLARMINE, a Jesuit, and one of the college of cardinals, who treated, in several bulky volumes, of all the controversies that subsisted between the protestants and the church of *Rome*; and whose merit as a writer consisted, principally, in clearness of style, and a certain copiousness of argument, which shewed a rich and fruitful imagination. This eminent defender of the church of *Rome* arose about the conclusion of this century, and, on his first appearance, all the force and attacks of the most illustrious protestant doctors were turned against him alone. His candor and plain-dealing exposed him, however, to the censures of several divines of his own communion; for he collected, with diligence, the reasons and objections of his adversaries, and proposed them, for the most part, in their full force, with integrity and exactness. Had he been less remarkable on account of his fidelity and industry; had he taken care to select the weakest arguments of his antagonists, and to render them still weaker, by proposing them in an imperfect and unfaithful light, his fame would

The state of
religious
controversy.

these three classes, that is given by Dr. MOSHEIM, that the word *Dogmatist* must not be taken in that *magisterial* sense, which it bears in modern language.

have

C E N T. have been much greater among the friends of *Rome*, than it actually is [u].

XVI.

SECT. III.

PART. I.

The contro-
versies that
divide the
church of
Rome.

XXX. If we turn our view to the internal state of the church of *Rome*, and consider the respective sentiments, opinions, and manners, of its different members, we shall find that, notwithstanding its boasted unity of faith, and its ostentatious pretensions to harmony and concord, it was, in this century, and is, at this day, divided and distracted with dissensions and contests of various kinds. The Franciscans and the Dominicans contend with vehemence about several points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists are at eternal war. The bishops have never ceased disputing with the pontiff (and the congregations that he has instituted to maintain his pretensions) concerning the origin and limits of his authority and jurisdiction. The French and Flemings, together with other countries, openly oppose the Roman pontiff on many occasions, and refuse to acknowledge his supreme and unlimited dominion in the church; while, on the other hand, he still continues to encroach upon their privileges, sometimes with violence and resolution, when he can do so with impunity, at other times with circumspection and prudence, when vigorous measures appear dangerous or unnecessary. The Jesuits, who, from their first rise, had formed the project of diminishing the credit and influence of all the other religious orders, used their warmest endeavours to share with the Benedictines and other monasteries, which were richly endowed, a part of their opulence; and their endeavours were crowned with success. Thus they drew upon their society the indignation and vengeance of the other religious communities, and armed against it the monks of every other denomination; and, in a more especial manner, the Benedictines and Dominicans, who surpassed all its enemies in the keenness and bitterness of their resentment. The rage of the Benedictines is animated by a painful reflection on the possessions of which they had been deprived; while the Dominicans contend for the honour of their order, the privileges annexed to it, and the religious tenets by which it is distinguished.

[u] See JO. FRID. MAYERI *Ecloga de fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipfis pontificis dubia*, published at *Amsterdam* in 8vo, in 1698.

Nor are the theological colleges and seminaries of learning more exempt from the flame of controversy than the clerical and monastic orders; on the contrary, debates concerning almost all the doctrines of Christianity are multiplied in them beyond number, and conducted with little moderation. It is true indeed, that all these contests are tempered and managed, by the prudence and authority of the Roman pontiffs, in such a manner as to prevent their being carried to an excessive height, to a length that might prove fatal to the church, by destroying that phantom of external unity that is the source of its consistence as an ecclesiastical body. I say *tempered* and *managed*; for to heal entirely these divisions, and calm these animosities, however it may be judged an undertaking worthy of one, who calls himself the *Vicar of Christ*, is, nevertheless, a work beyond the power, and contrary to the intention, of the Roman pontiff.

C E N T.
XVI.
S E C T. III.
P A R T I.

XXXI. Besides these debates of inferior moment, which made only a slight breach in the tranquillity and union of the church of *Rome*, there arose, after the period in which the council of *Trent* was assembled, controversies of much greater importance, which deservedly attracted the attention of Christians of all denominations. These controversies were set on foot by the Jesuits, and from small beginnings have increased gradually and gathered strength; so that the flame they produced has been transmitted even to our times, and continues at this very day to divide the members of the Romish church in a manner that does not a little endanger its stability. While the Roman pontiffs foment perhaps, instead of endeavouring to extinguish, the less momentous disputes mentioned above, they observe a different conduct with respect to those now under consideration. The most zealous efforts of artifice and authority are constantly employed to calm the contending parties (since it appears impossible to unite and reconcile them), and to diminish the violence of commotions which they can scarcely ever hope entirely to suppress. Their efforts however have hitherto been, and still continue to be, ineffectual. They have not even been able to calm the agitation and vehemence with which these debates are carried on, nor to inspire any sentiments of moderation and

The more
momentous
controversies that
have divided
the church
of *Rome*.

C E N T. and mutual forbearance into minds, which are less animated by the love of truth, than by the spirit of faction.

XVI.

SECT. III.

PART I.

Two general
classes of
doctors in
the church
of Rome.

XXXII. Whoever looks with attention and impartiality into these controversies will easily perceive, that there are two parties in the Roman church, whose notions with respect both to doctrine and discipline are extremely different. The Jesuits, in general, considered as a body [*w*], maintain, with the greatest zeal and obstinacy, the ancient system of doctrine and manners, which was universally adopted in the church before the rise of LUTHER, and which, though absurd and ill-digested, has, nevertheless, been considered as highly favourable to the views of Rome and the grandeur of its pontiffs. These sagacious ecclesiastics, whose peculiar office it is to watch for the security and defence of the papal throne, are fully persuaded that the authority of the pontiffs, as well as the opulence, pomp, and grandeur of the clergy, depend entirely upon the preservation of the ancient forms of doctrine; and that every project that tends either to remove these forms, or even to correct them, must be in the highest degree detrimental to, what they call, the interests of the church, and gradually bring on its ruin. On the other hand, there are within the pale of the Roman church, especially since the dawn of the Reformation, many pious and well-meaning men, whose eyes have been opened, by the perusal of the inspired and primitive writers, upon the corruptions and defects of the received forms of doctrine and discipline. Comparing the dictates of primitive Christianity with the vulgar system of popery, they have found the latter full of enormities, and have always been desirous of a Reformation (though indeed a partial one, according to their particular fancies), that thus the church might be purified from those unhappy abuses that have given rise to such fatal divisions, and still draw upon it the censures and reproaches of the heretics.

The main
controversies that divide the church of Rome reduced to six heads.

From these opposite ways of thinking arose naturally the warmest contentions and debates between the Jesuits

☞ [*w*] The Jesuits are here taken in the general and collective sense of that denomination; because there are several individuals of that order, whose sentiments differ from those that generally prevail in their community.

and several doctors of the church of *Rome*. These de- C E N T.
bates may be reduced under the *six* following heads: XVI.

The *First* subject of debate concerns the *limits and ex- S E C T. III.*
tent of the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. The P A R T I.

Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and de- First subject
pendents, all maintain, that the pope is *infallible*;—that of debate.

he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power, which CHRIST has granted to the church;—that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested;—that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils that compose it;—and that he alone is the supreme law-giver of that sacred community, a law-giver whose edicts and commands it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far from being universally adopted. For other doctors of the church of *Rome* hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error;—that his authority is inferior to that of a general council;—that he is bound to obey the commands of the church, and its laws, as they are enacted in the councils that represent it;—that these councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted;—and that, in consequence of these principles, the bishops and other inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the Roman pontiff, but from CHRIST himself.

XXXIII. The *extent and prerogatives of the church* form Second sub-
the *second* subject of debate. The Jesuits and their ad- ject of de-
herents stretch out its borders far and wide. They com- bate.
prehend within its large circuit, not only many who live separate from the communion of *Rome* [x], but even extend the inheritance of eternal salvation to nations that have not the least knowledge of the Christian religion, or of its divine author, and consider as true members of the church open transgressors which profess its doctrines.

[x] They were accused at *Spoletto*, in the year 1653, of having maintained, in their public instructions there, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See LE CLERC, *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 320.

C E N T. But the adversaries of the Jesuits reduce within narrower
 XVI. limits the kingdom of CHRIST, and not only exclude
 SECT. III. from all hope of salvation, those who are not within the
 PART I. pale of the church of *Rome*, but also those who, though
 they live within its external communion, yet dishonour
 their profession by a vicious and profligate course of life.
 The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences
 of less moment, assert, that the church can never pro-
 nounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either relating
 to *matters of fact*, or *points of doctrine* [y]; while the ad-
 verse party declare, that, in judging of matters of fact, it
 is not secured against all possibility of erring.

The third
 subject of
 debate.

XXXIV. The *third* class of controversies, that divides
 the church of *Rome*, comprehends the debates relating to
 the *nature*, *efficacy*, and *necessity* of *divine grace*, together
 with those that concern *original sin*, the *natural power*
 of man to obey the laws of God, and the *nature* and *foun-
 dation* of those *eternal decrees* that have for their object
 the salvation of men. The Dominicans, Augustins, and
 Jansenists, with several other doctors of the church,
 adopt the following propositions: That the *impulse* of
 divine grace cannot be *opposed* or *resisted*;—that there
 are no *remains* of *purity* or *goodness* in human nature since
 its fall;—that the *eternal decrees* of God, relating to the
 salvation of men, are neither founded upon, nor attended
 with, any condition whatsoever;—that God wills the
 salvation of all mankind, and several other tenets that
 are connected with these. The Jesuits maintain, on the
 contrary, that the *natural dominion* of sin in the human
 mind, and the hidden corruption it has produced in our
 internal frame, are less *universal* and *dreadful* than they
 are represented by the doctors now mentioned;—that

[y] This distinction, with respect to the *objects* of infallibility, was
 chiefly owing to the following historical circumstance: Pope INNOCENT X
 condemned *five propositions*, drawn from the famous book of JANSENIUS,
 entitled, *Augustinus*. This condemnation occasioned the two following que-
 stions: 1st, Whether or no these propositions were erroneous? This was the
 question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, the question *relating
 to doctrine*. 2^d, Whether or no these propositions were really taught by JAN-
 SENIUS? This was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to the matter of fact.
 The church was supposed, by some, infallible only in deciding questions of
 the former kind.

human

human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good;---that the *succours of grace* are administered to all mankind in a measure sufficient to lead them to eternal life and salvation;---that the *operations of grace* offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and therefore may be resisted;---and that God from all eternity has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments, as the portion of men in a future world, not by an *absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional* decree, but in consequence of that divine and unlimited *prescience*, by which he foresaw the *actions, merits, and characters* of every individual.

XXXV. The *fourth* head, in this division of the controversies that destroy the pretended unity of the church of Rome, contains various subjects of debate, relative to *doctrines of morality and rules of practice*, which it would be both tedious and foreign from our purpose to enumerate in a circumstantial manner; though it may not be improper to touch lightly the first principles of this endless controversy [z].

The Jesuits and their followers have inculcated a very strange doctrine with respect to the motives that determine the moral conduct and actions of men. They represent it as a matter of perfect indifference, from what motives men obey the laws of God, provided these laws are really obeyed; and maintain, that the service of those

[z] No author has given a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objections that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches that have been cast on their rules of life; and none at the same time has defended their cause with more art and dexterity, than the eloquent and ingenious GABRIEL DANIEL (a famous member of their order) in a piece, entitled, *Entretiens de Cleandre et d'Eudoxe*. This dialogue is to be found in the first volume of his *Opuscules*, p. 351. and was designed as an answer to the celebrated *Provincial Letters* of PASCAL, which did more real prejudice to the society of the Jesuits than can be well imagined, and exposed their loose and perfidious system of morals with the greatest fidelity and perspicuity, embellished by the most exquisite strokes of humour and irony. Father DANIEL, in the piece abovementioned, treats with great acuteness the famous doctrine of *probability*, p. 351; the method of *directing our intentions*, p. 556; *equivocation and mental reservation*, p. 562; *sins of ignorance and oblivion*, p. 719; and it must be acknowledged, that, if the cause of the Jesuits were susceptible of defence or plausibility, it has found in this writer an able and dexterous champion.

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who obey from the fear of punishment is as agreeable to the Deity, as those actions which proceed from a principle of love to him and to his laws. This decision excites the horror of the greatest part of the doctors of the Roman church, who affirm, that no acts of obedience, that do not proceed from the love of God, can be acceptable to that pure and holy Being. Nor is the doctrine of the Jesuits only chargeable with the corrupt tenets already mentioned. They maintain farther, that a man never sins, properly speaking, but when he transgresseth a divine law, which is *fully known* to him, which is *present to his mind* while he acts, and of which he *understands the true meaning* and intent. And they conclude from hence, that, in strict justice, the conduct of that transgressor cannot be looked upon as criminal, who is either ignorant of the law, or is in doubt about its true signification, or loses sight of it, through forgetfulness, at the time that he violates it. From these propositions they deduce the famous doctrines of *probability* and *philosophical sin*, that have cast an eternal reproach upon the schools of the Jesuits [a]. Their adversaries behold these pernicious tenets with the utmost abhorrence, and assert that neither ignorance, nor forgetfulness of the law, nor the doubts that may be entertained with respect to its signification, will be admitted as sufficient to justify transgressors before the tribunal of God. This contest, about the main and fundamental points of morality, has given rise to a great variety of debates concerning the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves, and produced two sects of moral doctors, whose animosities and divisions have miserably rent the

☞ [a] The doctrine of *probability* consists in this: *That an opinion or precept may be followed with a good conscience, when it is inculcated by four, or three, or two, nay even by one doctor of any considerable reputation, even though it be contrary to the judgment of him that follows it, and even of him that recommends it.* This doctrine rendered the Jesuits capable of accommodating themselves to all the different passions of men, and to persons of all tempers and characters, from the most austere to the most licentious. *Philosophical sin*, according to the Jesuits doctrine, is an *action, or course of actions, that is repugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the Deity.* See a fuller account of these two odious doctrines, in the following part of this work, Cent. XVII. Sect. II. Part I. Chap. I. § XXXV. and in the author's and translator's notes.

church

church of *Rome* in all parts of the world, and involved it in the greatest perplexities.

XXXVI. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of *penance* and the *eucharist*, forms the fifth subject of controversy in the church of *Rome*. The Jesuits and many other doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the sacraments are produced by their *intrinsic virtue* and *immediate operation* [b] upon the mind at the time they are administered, and that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, and a heart animated with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And hence it is, that, according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of the sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the sacraments, before they grant their requests; since, in their sense of things, the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love *that casteth out fear*. Hence arose that famous dispute in the church of *Rome*, concerning a *frequent approach to the holy communion*, which was carried

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debate.

[b] This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say, that the sacraments produce their effect *opere operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain, that the sacraments have in themselves an *instrumental* and *efficient* power, by virtue of which they work in the soul (independently on its previous preparation or propensities) a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, are necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a *mortal sin* can resist. See Dr. COURAYER'S *Translation of PAUL SARPI'S History of the Council of Trent*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 423, 424. edit. *Amsterdam*.

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on with such warmth in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with ARNAULD [c] at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit PICHON, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French bishops [d]. The frequent celebration of the Lord's supper is one of the main duties, which the Jesuits recommend with peculiar earnestness to those who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity; and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious doctors of the Romish communion, who reject that *intrinsic virtue and efficient operation* that is attributed to the sacraments, and wisely maintain that the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper can be profitable to those only whose minds are prepared, by faith, repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service.

The sixth
subject of
debate.

XXXVII. The *sixth* and last controversy turns upon the proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion. One part of the Romish doctors, who have the progress of religion truly at heart, look upon it as expedient, and even necessary, to sow the seeds of divine truth in the mind, in the tender and flexible state of infancy, when it is most susceptible of good impressions, and to give it by degrees, according to the measure of its capacity, a full and accurate knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others, who have a greater zeal for the interests of the church than the improvement of its members, recommend a devout ignorance to such as submit to their direction, and think a Christian sufficiently instructed when he has learned to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the church. The former are of opinion, that nothing can be so profitable and instructive to Christians as the study of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently judge it

[c] ARNAULD published on this occasion his famous book concerning the *Practice of communicating frequently*. The French title is, *Traité de la fréquente Communion*.

[d] See *Journal Universel*, tom. xiii. p. 148. tom. xv. p. 363. tom. xvi. p. 124.

highly

highly expedient that they should be translated into the C E N T. vulgar tongue of each country. The latter exclude X VI. the people from the satisfaction of consulting the sacred S E C T. III. oracles of truth, and look upon all vernacular translations P A R T I. of the Bible as dangerous, and even of a pernicious tendency. They accordingly maintain, that it ought only to be published in a learned language, to prevent its instructions from becoming familiar to the multitude. The former compose pious and instructive books to nourish a spirit of devotion in the minds of Christians, to enlighten their ignorance, and dispel their errors; they illustrate and explain the public prayers and the solemn acts of religion in the language of the people, and exhort all, who attend to their instructions, to peruse constantly these pious productions, in order to improve their knowledge, purify their affections, and to learn the method of worshipping the Deity in a rational and acceptable manner. All this, however, is highly displeasing to the latter kind of doctors, who are always apprehensive, that the blind obedience and implicit submission of the people will diminish in proportion as their views are enlarged and their knowledge increased [e].

[e] The account here given of the more momentous controversies that divide the church of Rome, may be confirmed, illustrated, and enlarged, by consulting a multitude of books published in the last and present centuries, especially in France and Flanders, by Jansenists, Dominicans, Jesuits, and others. All the productions, in which the doctrine and precepts of the Jesuits, and the other creatures of the Roman pontiff, are opposed and refuted, are enumerated by DOMINICK COLONIA, a French Jesuit, in a work published, in 1735, under the following title: *Bibliothèque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux livres Jansenistes, ou suspects de Jansenisme, avec des notes Critique.* This writer is led into many absurdities by his extravagant attachment to the Roman pontiff, and to the cause and tenets of his order. His book, however, is of use in pointing out the various controversies that perplex and divide the church of Rome. It was condemned by the late pope BENEDICT XIV; but was, nevertheless, republished in a new form, with some change in the title, and additions, that swelled it from one octavo volume to four of the same size. This new edition appeared at Antwerp in the year 1752, under the following title: *Dictionnaire des livres Jansenistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansenisme, à Anvers chez J. B. Verdussen.* And it must be acknowledged, that it is extremely useful, in shewing the intestine divisions of the church, the particular contests that divide its doctors, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous productions that relate to

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The disputes
carried on
with Baius
concerning
grace, &c.

All the controversies that have been here mentioned did not break out at the same time. The disputes concerning divine grace, the natural power of man to perform good actions, original sin, and predestination, which have been ranged under the third class, were publicly carried on in the century of which we are now writing. The others were conducted with more secrecy and reserve, and did not come forth to public view before the following age. Nor will this appear at all surprising to those who consider that the controversies concerning *grace* and *free-will*, which had been set in motion by LUTHER, were neither accurately examined, nor peremptorily decided, in the church of *Rome*, but were rather artfully suspended and hushed into silence. The sentiments of LUTHER were indeed condemned; but no fixed and perspicuous rule of faith, with respect to these disputed points, was substituted in their place. The decisions of St. AUGUSTIN were solemnly approved; but the difference between these decisions and the sentiments of LUTHER were never clearly explained. The first rise of this fatal controversy was owing to the zeal of MICHAEL BAIUS, a doctor in the university of *Louvain*, equally remarkable on account of the warmth of his piety and the extent of his learning. This eminent divine, like the other followers of AUGUSTIN, had an invincible aversion to that contentious, subtile, and intricate manner of teaching theology, that had long prevailed in the *schools*; and under the auspicious name of that famous prelate, who was his darling guide, he had the courage or temerity to condemn and censure, in an open and public manner, the tenets commonly received in the church of *Rome*, in relation to the *natural powers of man*, and the *merit of good works*. This bold step drew upon BAIUS the indignation of some of his academical colleagues, and the heavy censures of several Franciscan monks. Whether the Jesuits immediately joined in this

the six heads of controversy here mentioned. It must be observed, at the same time, that this work abounds with the most malignant invectives against many persons of eminent learning and piety, and with the most notorious instances of partiality and injustice *.

* See a particular account of this learned and scandalous work in the first and second volumes of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, printed at the *Hague*.

opposition,

opposition, and may be reckoned among the first ac- C E N T.
 cusers of BAIUS, is a matter unknown, or, at most, un- XVI.
 certain; but it is unquestionably evident and certain, SECT. III.
 that, even at the rise of this controversy, they abhorred PART I.
 the principal tenets of BAIUS, which he had taken from
 AUGUSTIN, and adopted as his own. In the year 1567,
 this doctor was accused at the court of *Rome*, and *seventy-*
six propositions, drawn from his writings, were condemned
 by pope PIUS V, in a circular letter expressly composed
 for that purpose. This condemnation, however, was
 issued out in an artful and insidious manner, without any
 mention being made of the name of the author; for the
 fatal consequences, that had arisen from the rash and in-
 considerate measures employed by the court of *Rome*
 against LUTHER, were too fresh in the remembrance of
 the prudent pontiff to permit his falling into new blunders
 of the same nature. The thunder of excommunication
 was therefore suppressed by the dictates of prudence, and
 the person and functions of BAIUS were spared, while
 his tenets were censured. About thirteen years after this
 transaction, GREGORY XIII complied so far with the
 importunate solicitations of a Jesuit, named TOLET, as
 to reinforce the sentence of PIUS V, by a new condemna-
 tion of the opinions of the Flemish doctor. BAIUS sub-
 mitted to this new sentence, either from an apprehension
 that it would be followed by severer proceedings in case
 of resistance, or, which is more probable, on account of
 the ambiguity that reigned in the papal edict, and the
 vague and confused manner in which the obnoxious pro-
 positions were therein expressed. But his example, in this
 respect, was not followed by the other doctors who had
 formed their theological system upon that of AUGU-
 STIN [f]; and, even, at this day, many divines of the
 Romish communion, and particularly the Jansenists,
 declare openly that BAIUS was unjustly treated, and that

[f] See, for an account of the disputes relating to BAIUS, the works of
 that author, published in 4to at *Cologne*, in 1696, particularly the second
 part, or appendix, entitled, *Baiana, seu Scripta, quæ controversias spectant oc-*
cassione sententiarum Baii exortas.—BAYLE'S *Diction.* at the article BAIUS, in
 which there is an ample and circumstantial account of these disputes.—DU
 PIN, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xvi. p. 144.—*Histoire de la*
Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iii. p. 161.

C E N T. the two edicts of PIUS and GREGORY mentioned above
 XVI. are absolutely destitute of all authority, and have never
 SECT. III. been received as laws of the church [g].
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Contests
 with the
 Jesuits, Lessius, and
 Hamelius.

XXXIX. Be that as it may, it is at least certain, that the doctrine of AUGUSTIN, with respect to the nature and operations of divine grace, lost none of its credit in consequence of these edicts, but was embraced and propagated, with the same zeal as formerly, throughout all the Belgic provinces, and more especially in the two flourishing universities of *Louvain* and *Douay*. This appeared very soon after, when two Jesuits, named LESSIUS and HAMEDIUS, ventured to represent the doctrine of predestination in a manner different from that in which it appears in the writings of AUGUSTIN: For the sentiments of these Jesuits were publicly condemned by the doctors of *Louvain* in the year 1587, and by those of *Douay* the year following. The bishops of the Low-Countries were disposed to follow the example of these two universities, and had already deliberated about assembling a provincial council for this purpose, when the Roman pontiff, SIXTUS V, suspended their proceedings by the interposition of his authority, and declared, that the cognizance and decision of religious controversies belonged only to the vicar of CHRIST, residing at *Rome*. But this cunning vicar, whose sagacity, prudence, and knowledge of men and things, never failed him in transactions of this nature, wisely avoided making use of the privilege he claimed with such confidence, that he might not inflame the divisions and animosities that were already subsisting. And accordingly, in the year 1588, this contest was finished, and the storm laid in such a manner, as that the contending parties were left in the quiet possession of their respective opinions, and solemnly prohibited from disputing, either in public or in private, upon the intricate points that had excited their divisions. Had the succeeding pontiffs, instead of assuming the character of judges in this ambiguous and difficult controversy, imitated the prudence of SIXTUS V, and imposed

[g] This is demonstrated fully by an anonymous writer, in a piece, entitled, *Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, où l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise*, and published in two volumes 8vo at *Utrecht*, in the year 1737.

silence

silence on the litigious doctors, who renewed afterwards the debates concerning divine grace, the tranquillity and unity of the church of *Rome* would not have been interrupted by such violent divisions as rage at present in its bosom [b].

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XL. The Roman church had scarcely perceived the fruits of that calm, which the prudence of SIXTUS had restored, by suppressing, instead of deciding, the late controversies, when new commotions, of the same nature, but of a much more terrible aspect, arose to disturb its tranquillity. These were occasioned by LEWIS MOLINA [i], a Spanish Jesuit, professor of divinity in the university of *Ebora* in *Portugal*, who, in the year 1588, published a book to shew that the operations of divine grace were entirely consistent with the freedom of human will [k], and who introduced a new kind of hypothesis, to remove the difficulties attending the doctrines of predestination and liberty, and to reconcile the jarring opinions of *Augustinians*, *Thomists*, *Semi-Pelagians*, and other contentious divines [l]. This attempt of the subtle

The contro-
versies with
the Moli-
nists.

[b] See *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay*, par M. GERY, 1688, in 8vo. The famous PASQUER QUENEL was the author of this apology, if we may give credit to the writer of a book, entitled, *Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 104.—See an account of this controversy in a piece, entitled, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace*; this curious piece is to be found in the fourteenth tome of LE CLERC's *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*.

[i] From this Spanish doctor's name proceeded the well known denomination of *Molinists*, by which those Roman catholics are distinguished, who seem to incline to the doctrines of grace and free-will, that are maintained in opposition to those of AUGUSTINE. Many however, who differ widely from the sentiments of MOLINA, are unjustly ranked in the class of Molinists.

[k] The title of this famous book is as follows: *Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratiæ donis, divinæ præscientiæ, providentiæ, prædestinatione, et reprobatione, auctore Lud. Molina*. This book was first published at *Lisbon* in folio, in the year 1588.—Afterwards, with additions, and in 4to, at *Antwerp*, *Lyons*, *Venice*, and other places, in 1595.—A third edition, still farther augmented, was published at *Antwerp* in 1609.

[l] MOLINA affirmed, that the Decree of predestination to eternal glory was founded upon a previous knowledge and consideration of the merits of the elect; that the grace, from whose operation these merits are derived, is not efficacious by its own intrinsic power only, but also by the consent of our own will, and because it is administered in those circumstances in which

Spanish

C E N T. XVI. Spanish doctor was so offensive to the Dominicans, who followed St. THOMAS as their theological guide, that they founded, throughout the whole kingdom of *Spain*, the alarm of heresy, and accused the Jesuits of endeavouring to renew the errors of PELAGIUS. This alarm was followed by great commotions, and all things seemed to prognosticate a general flame, when CLEMENT VIII, in the year 1594, imposed silence on the contending parties, promising that he himself would examine with care and diligence every thing relating to this new debate, in order to decide it in such a manner as might tend to promote the cause of truth and the peace of the church.

The congregation of aids.

XLI. The pontiff was persuaded that these gentle remedies would soon remove the disease, and that, through length of time, these heats and animosities would undoubtedly subside. But the event was far from being answerable to such pleasing hopes. The Dominicans, who had long fostered a deep-rooted and invincible hatred against the Jesuits, having now a favourable opportunity of venting their indignation, exhausted their furious zeal against the doctrine of MOLINA, notwithstanding the pacific orders of the papal edict. They fatigued incessantly the Spanish monarch, PHILIP II, and the Roman pontiff, CLEMENT VIII, with their importunate clamours, until at length the latter found himself under a necessity of assembling at *Rome* a sort of council for the decision of this controversy. And thus commenced, about the beginning of the year 1598, those famous deliberations concerning the contests of the Jesuits and Dominicans, which were held in what was called the congregation *de auxiliis*, or of aids. This congregation was so denominated on account of the principal point in debate, which was the efficacy of the aids and succours of divine grace, and its consultations

the Deity, by that branch of his knowledge, which is called *Scientia Media*, foresees that it will be efficacious. The kind of prescience, denominated in the schools *Scientia Media*, is that foreknowledge of future contingents, that arises from an acquaintance with the nature and faculties of rational beings, of the circumstances in which they shall be placed, of the objects that shall be presented to them, and of the influence that these circumstances and objects must have on their actions,

were

were directed by LEWIS MADRUSI, bishop of *Trent*, and one of the college of cardinals, who sat as president in this assembly, which was composed besides of three bishops and seven divines chosen out of so many different orders. The remaining part of this century was wholly employed by these spiritual judges in hearing and weighing the arguments alleged in favour of their respective opinions by the contending parties [m]. The Dominicans maintained, with the greatest obstinacy, the doctrine of their patron St. THOMAS, as alone conformable to truth. The Jesuits, on the other hand, though they did not adopt the religious tenets of MOLINA, thought the honour of their order concerned in this controversy, on account of the opposition so publicly made to one of its members, and consequently used their utmost endeavours to have the Spanish doctor acquitted of the charge of Pelagianism, and declared free from any errors of moment. In this they acted according to the true Monastic spirit, which leads each order to resent

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[m] The history and transactions of this *Congregation* are related and illustrated by several writers of different complexions, by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Jansenists. HYACINTH SERRI, a Dominican, published, under the feigned name of AUGUSTIN LE BLANC, in the year 1700, at *Louvain*, a work entitled, *Historia Congregationum de auxiliis Gratiæ divinæ*; which was answered by another history of these debates composed by LIV. DE MEYER, a Jesuit, who assumed the name of THEOD. ELEUTHERIUS, in order to lie concealed from public view, and whose book is entitled, *Historia Controversiarum de Gratiæ divinæ auxiliis*. The Dominicans also published the *Acta congregationum et disputationum, quæ coram CLEMENTE VIII, et PAULO V, de auxiliis divinæ Gratiæ sunt celebratæ*, a work composed by THOMAS DE LEMOS, a subtle monk of their order, who, in this very congregation, had defended with great applause the glory of St. THOMAS against the Jesuits.—Amidst these jarring accounts, a man must be endowed with a supernatural sagacity to come at the truth. For acts are opposed to acts, testimony to testimony, and narration to narration. It is therefore as yet a matter of doubt, which the court of *Rome* favoured most, on this occasion, the Jesuits or the Dominicans, and which of these two parties defended their cause with the most dexterity and success.—There is also a history of these debates written in French, which was published in 8vo at *Louvain*, in the year 1702, under the following title: *Histoire de Congregations de auxiliis, par un Docteur de la Faculté de Theologie de Paris*. This historian, though he be neither destitute of learning nor elegance, being nevertheless a flaming Jansenist, discovers throughout his enmity against the Jesuits, and relates all things in a manner that favours the cause of the Dominicans.

the

CENT. the affronts that are offered to any of its members, as if
 XVI. they had been cast upon the whole community, and to
 SECT. III. maintain, at all adventures, the cause of every individual
 PART I. monk, as if the interests of the society were involved
 in it.

Rites and
 ceremonies.

XLII. Notwithstanding the zealous attempts that were made, by several persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the church; nor did the pontiffs judge it proper to diminish that pomp and shew, that gave the ministers of religion a great, though ill-acquired, influence on the minds of the people. Besides these ceremonies, many popular customs and inventions, which were multiplied by the clergy, and were either entirely absurd or grossly superstitious, called loudly for redress; and, indeed, the council of *Trent* seemed disposed to correct these abuses, and prevent their farther growth. But this good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned, either through the corrupt prudence of the pope and clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority, or through their criminal negligence about every thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Hence it happens, that in those countries where there are few protestants, and consequently where the church of *Rome* is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the proximity and attempts of these pretended heretics, superstition reigns with unlimited extravagance and absurdity. Such is the case in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity, that yet remain, are overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastic, and unaccountable rites; so that a person who arrives in any of these countries, after having passed through other nations even of the Romish communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into the most gloomy retreats of superstition [n]. Nor, indeed, are

[n] It is well known that the French, who travel into *Italy*, employ the whole force of their wit and raillery in rendering ridiculous the monstrous superstition of the Italians. The Italians, in their turn, look upon the

even those countries, whom the neighbourhood of the protestants and a more free and liberal turn of mind have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition, and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of *Rome*, in its best form, and in those places where its external worship is the least shocking, is certainly loaded with rites and observances that are highly offensive to sound reason. If, from this general view of things, we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of that church; if we attend to the pious, or rather impious, frauds, which are imposed, with impunity, upon the deluded multitude, in many places; if we pass in review the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of the Roman-catholic preachers; if we weigh all these things maturely, we shall find, that they have little regard to impartiality and truth, who pretend that, since the council of *Trent*, the religion and worship of the Roman church have been every where corrected and amended.

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C H A P. II.

The History of the Greek and Eastern Churches.

I. **T**HE society of Christians that goes under the general denomination of the eastern church, is dispersed throughout *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, and may be divided into three distinct communities. The first is that of the Greek Christians, who agree, in all points of doctrine and worship, with the patriarch residing at

The eastern church may be divided into three branches.

French that visit their country as totally destitute of all principles of religion. This is evidently the case, as we learn from the testimony of many writers, and particularly from that of Father LABAT, in his *Voyages en Italie et en Espagne*. This agreeable Dominican lets no opportunity escape of censuring and exposing the superstition of the Spaniards and Italians; nor does he pretend to deny that his countrymen, and even he himself, passed for impious libertines in the opinion of these bigots.

Constantinople,

CENT. XVI. *Constantinople*, and reject the pretended supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The *second* comprehends those Christians, who differ equally from the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch in their religious opinions and institutions, and who live under the government of their own bishops and rulers. The *third* is composed of those who are subject to the see of *Rome*.

The Greek church, properly speaking,

II. That society of Christians that lives in religious communion with the patriarch of *Constantinople*, is, properly speaking, the Greek, though it assumes likewise the title of the eastern, church. This society is subdivided into two branches, of which the one acknowledges the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of *Constantinople*; while the other, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with that prelate, yet obstinately refuses to receive his legates, or to obey his edicts, and is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers, who are independent on all foreign authority.

is for the most part subject to the patriarch of *Constantinople*,

III. That part of the Greek church which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Constantinople*, is divided, as in the early ages of Christianity, into four large districts or provinces, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, over every one of which a bishop presides with the title of Patriarch, whom the inferior bishops and monastic orders unanimously respect as their common Father. But the supreme chief of all these patriarchs, bishops, and abbots, and, generally speaking, of the whole church, is the patriarch of *Constantinople*. This prelate has the privilege of nominating the other patriarchs, though that dignity still continues elective, and of approving the election that is made; nor is there any thing of moment undertaken or transacted in the church without his express permission, or his especial order. It is true indeed, that, in the present decayed state of the Greek churches, whose revenues are so small, and whose former opulence is reduced almost to nothing, their spiritual rulers enjoy little more than the splendid title of *Patriarchs*, without being in a condition to extend their fame or promote their cause by any undertaking of signal importance.

IV. The

IV. The spiritual jurisdiction and dominion of the patriarch of *Constantinople* are very extensive, comprehending a considerable part of *Greece*, the Grecian *Isles*, *Wallachia*, *Moldavia*, and several of the European and Asiatic provinces that are subject to the *Turk*. The patriarch of *Alexandria* resides generally at *Cairo*, and exercises his spiritual authority in *Egypt*, *Nubia*, *Lybia*, and part of *Arabia* [o]. DAMASCUS is the principal residence of the patriarch of *Antioch*, whose jurisdiction extends to *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Gilicia*, and other provinces [p], while the patriarch of *Jerusalem* comprehends, within the bounds of his pontificate, *Palestine*, *Syria* [q],

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PART I.
and is divided into four provinces or districts here described.

[o] For an account of the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and the various prelates who have filled that see, it will be proper to consult SOLLERII *Commentar. de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*, which is prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Acta Sanctorum, Mensis Junii*; as also the *Oriens Christianus* of LE QUIEN, tom. ii. p. 329. The nature of their office, the extent of their authority, and the manner of their creation, is accurately described by EUS. RENAUDOT, in his *Dissertatio de Patriarcha Alexandrino*, which is published in the first volume of his *Liturgiæ Orientales*, p. 365.—The Grecian patriarch has, at this day, no bishops under his jurisdiction; the *chorepiscopi* or rural bishops alone are subject to his authority. All the bishops acknowledge as their chief the patriarch of the *Monophysites*, who is, in effect, the patriarch of *Alexandria*.

[p] The Jesuits have prefixed a particular and learned account of the patriarchs of *Antioch* to the fifth volume of the *Acta SS. mensis Julii*, in which, however, there are some omissions and defects. Add to this the account that is given of the district or diocese of the patriarch of *Antioch* by MICH. LE QUIEN, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 675, and by BLASIUS TERTIUS, in his *Siria Sacra, ò Descrittione Historico-Geographica delle due Chiese Patriarchali, Antiocba, et Gierusalemme*, published in folio at Rome, in the year 1695. There are three bishops in *Syria* which claim the title and dignity of patriarch of *Antioch*. The first is the bishop of the *Melchites*, a name given to the Christians in *Syria*, who follow the doctrine, institutions, and worship of the Greek church; the second is the spiritual guide of the Syrian *Monophysites*; and the third is the chief of the *Maronites*, who hold communion with the church of Rome. This last bishop pretends to be the true and lawful patriarch of *Antioch*, and is acknowledged as such, or at least receives this denomination, from the Roman pontiff. And yet it is certain, that the pope creates at Rome a patriarch of *Antioch* of his own choice. So that the see of *Antioch* has, at this day, four patriarchs, one from the Greeks, two from the Syrians, and one created at Rome, who is patriarch in partibus, i. e. titular patriarch, according to the signification of that usual phrase.

[q] *Syria* is here erroneously placed in the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, as it evidently belongs to that of *Antioch*, in which also Dr. MOSHEIM places it in the preceding sentence.

C E N T. *Arabia*, the country beyond *Jordan*, *Cana* in *Galilee*, and
 XVI. mount *Sion* [r]. The episcopal dominions of these three
 SECT. III. patriarchs are indeed extremely poor and inconsiderable;
 PART I. for the Monophysites have long since assumed the pa-
 triarchal seats of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and have de-
 prived the Greek churches of the greatest part of their
 members in all those places where they have gained an
 ascendant. And as *Jerusalem* is the resort of Christians
 of every sect, who have their respective bishops and
 rulers, the jurisdiction of the Grecian patriarch is con-
 sequently confined there within narrow limits.

The patri-
 arch of Con-
 stantinople.

V. The right of electing the patriarch of *Constantinople* is, at this day, vested in the twelve bishops who reside nearest that famous capital; but the right of confirming this election, and of enabling the new-chosen patriarch to exercise his spiritual functions, belongs only to the Turkish emperor. This institution, however, if it is not entirely overturned, is nevertheless on many occasions prostituted in a shameful manner by the corruption and avarice of the reigning ministers. Thus it happens, that many bishops, inflamed with the ambitious lust of power and pre-eminence, purchase by money what they cannot obtain by merit, and seeing themselves excluded from the patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of their brethren, find an open and ready way to it by the mercenary services of men in power. Nay, what is yet more deplorable has frequently happened; even that prelates, who have been chosen in the lawful way to this eminent office, have been deposed in order to make way for others, whose only pretensions were ambition and bribery. And, indeed, generally speaking, he is looked upon by the Turkish vizirs as the most qualified for the office of patriarch, who surpasses his competitors in the number and value of the presents he employs on that occasion. It is true some accounts worthy of credit represent the present state of the Greek church as advantageously changed in this respect; and it is reported, that, as the Turkish manners have gradually assumed a milder and more humane cast, the patriarchs live under their domi-

[r] BLAS. TERTII *Siria Sacra*, lib. ii. p. 165.—D. PAPEBROCHII *Comment. de Patriarch. Hierosolym.* tom. iii. *Astor, Sanct, Mens, Maii.*—LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christ.* tom. iii, p. 102.

nion with more security and repose than they did some C E N T.
ages ago. XVI.

The power of the patriarch among a people dispirited by oppression, and sunk, through their extreme ignorance, into the greatest superstition, must undoubtedly be very considerable and extensive; and such, indeed, it is. Its extent, however, is not entirely owing to the causes now mentioned, but to others that give no small weight and lustre to the patriarchal dignity. For this prelate does not only call councils, by his own authority, in order to decide, by their assistance, the controversies that arise, and to make use of their prudent advice and wise deliberations in directing the affairs of the church; his prerogatives go yet farther, and, by the special permission of the emperor, he administers justice and takes cognizance of civil causes among the members of his communion. His influence is maintained on the one hand, by the authority of the Turkish monarch, and, on the other, by his right of excommunicating the disobedient members of the Greek church. This right gives the patriarch a singular degree of influence and authority, as nothing has a more terrifying aspect to that people than a sentence of excommunication, which they reckon among the greatest and most tremendous evils. The revenue of this prelate is drawn particularly from the churches that are subject to his jurisdiction; and its produce varies according to the state and circumstances of the Greek Christians, whose condition is exposed to many vicissitudes [t].

VI. The holy scriptures and the decrees of the first seven *general* councils are acknowledged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith. It is received, however, as a maxim established by long custom, that no private person

The doctrine of the Greek church.

[s] LE QUIEN, *ibid.* tom. i. p. 145.—ELSNER, *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Turkey*, p. 54.

[t] CUPER, a Jesuit, has given a *History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople*, in the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Augusti*, tom. i. p. 1.—257. There is also a very ample account both of the see of Constantinople and its patriarchs, in the first volume of the *Oriens Christianus* of MICH. LEQUIEN, who treats moreover of the Latin patriarchs of that city, in the third volume of the same work, p. 786. See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in SMITH, *De Eccles. Græcæ Hodierno Statu*, p. 48.—59.

C E N T.
XVI.
S E C T. III.
P A R T I.

has a right to explain, for himself or others, either the declarations of scripture, or the decisions of these councils; and that the patriarch, with his brethren, are alone authorised to consult these oracles, and to declare their meaning. And accordingly, the declarations of this prelate are looked upon as sacred and infallible directions, whose authority is supreme, and which can neither be transgressed nor disregarded without the utmost impiety. The substance of the doctrine of the Greek church is contained in a treatise, entitled, *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church*, which was drawn up by PETER MOGISLAUS, bishop of *Kiow*, in a provincial council assembled in that city. This confession was translated into Greek [*u*], and publicly approved and adopted, in the year 1643, by PARTHENIUS of *Constantinople*, and all the other Grecian patriarchs. It was afterwards published in Greek and Latin at the expence of PANAGIOTA, the Turkish emperor's interpreter, a man of great opulence and liberality, who ordered it to be distributed *gratis* among the Greek Christians; and it was also enriched with a commendatory letter composed by NECTARIUS, patriarch of *Jerusalem* [*w*]. It appears evidently from this confession, that the Greeks differ widely from the votaries of the

[*u*] It was originally composed in the Russian language.

[*w*] This *confession* was published in 8vo at *Leipsic*, with a Latin translation, by LAUR. NORMANNUS, in the year 1695. In the Preface we are informed, that it had been composed by NECTARIUS: but this assertion is refuted by NECTARIUS himself, in a letter which follows immediately the preface. It is also affirmed, both in the Preface and Title-page, that this is the first public edition that has been given of the Greek confession. But this assertion is also false; since it is well known that it was published in *Holland*, in the year 1662, at the expence of PANAGIOTA. The German translation of this confession was published at *Francfort* and *Leipsic*, in 4to, in 1727. The learned JO. CHRIST. KOCHERUS has given, with his usual accuracy and erudition, an ample account both of this and the other confessions received among the Greeks, in his *Bibliotheca Theologicæ Symbol.* p. 45 & 53. and the laborious Dr. HOFFMAN, principal Professor of Divinity at *Wittenberg*, published at *Breslaw*, in 1751, a new edition of the *Orthodox Confession*, with an historical account of it. Those who are desirous of a circumstantial account of the famous PANAGIOTA, to whom this confession is indebted for a considerable part of its credit, and who has rendered to the Greek church in general the most eminent services, will find it in CANTERBURY's *Histoire de l' Empire Ottoman*, tom. iii. p. 149.

Roman

Roman pontiff, whose doctrines they reject and treat with C E N T. indignation in several places; but it appears, at the same XVI. time, that their religious tenets are equally remote from SECT. III. those of other Christian societies. So that whoever per- PART I. uses this treatise with attention, will be fully convinced, how much certain writers are mistaken, who imagine that the obstacles which prevent the union of the Greeks with this or the other Christian community, are but small and inconsiderable [x].

VII. The votaries of *Rome* have found this to be true on many occasions. And the Lutherans made an experiment of the same kind, when they presented a fruitless invitation to the Greek churches to embrace their doctrine and discipline, and live with them in religious communion. The first steps in this laudable attempt were taken by MELANCTHON, who sent to the patriarch of *Constantinople* a copy of the confession of *Augsburg*, translated into Greek by PAUL DOLSCIUS. This present was accompanied with a letter, in which the learned and humane professor of *Wittemberg* represented the protestant doctrine with the utmost simplicity and faithfulness, hoping that the artless charms of truth might touch the heart of the Grecian prelate. But his hopes were disappointed, for the patriarch did not even deign to send him an answer [y]. After this the divines of *Tubingen* renewed, with his successor JEREMIAH [z], the correspondence which had been begun by MELANCTHON. They wrote frequently, during the course of several years [a], to the new patriarch, sent him another copy of the confession of *Augsburg*, together with a *Compend of Theology*, composed by HEERBRAND, and translated into Greek by MARTIN CRUSIUS; nor did they leave un-

The design
of uniting
the Greeks
with the
protestants
miscarries.

[x] The learned FABRICIUS has given, in the tenth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 441. an exact and ample list of the writers, whom it is proper to consult in order to the forming a just notion of the state, circumstances, and doctrines of the Greek church.

[y] LEO ALLATIUS, *De perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Orient. et Occident.* lib. iii. cap. viii. § ii. p. 1005.

[z] The name of the former patriarch was JOSEPH. In the year 1559, he had sent his Deacon DEMETRIUS to *Wittemberg*, to inform himself upon the spot of the genius and doctrines of the protestant religion.

[a] This correspondence commenced in the year 1576, and ended in 1581.

CENT. employed any means, which a pious and well-conducted
 XVI. zeal could suggest as proper to gain over this prelate
 SECT. III. to their communion. The fruits, however, of this cor-
 PART I. respondence were very inconsiderable, and wholly consisted
 in a few letters from the Greek patriarch, written, indeed, with an amiable spirit of benevolence and cordiality; but at the same time in terms which shewed the impossibility of the union so much desired by the protestants. The whole strain of these letters discovered in the Greeks an inviolable attachment to the opinions and institutions of their ancestors, and was sufficient to demonstrate the vanity of attempting to dissolve it in the present situation and circumstances of that people [b].

The miser-
 able state of
 the Greeks,

VIII. Nothing, indeed, more deplorable can be conceived than the state of the greatest part of the Greeks, since their subjection to the oppressive yoke of the Turkish emperors. Since that fatal period, almost all learning and science, human and divine, have been extinguished among them. They have neither schools, colleges, nor any of those literary establishments that ennoble human nature, by sowing in the mind the immortal seeds of knowledge and virtue. Those few that surpass the vulgar herd in intellectual acquirements, have derived this advantage from the schools of learning in *Sicily* or *Italy*, where the studious Greeks usually repair in quest of knowledge, or from a perusal of the writings of the ancient doctors, and more especially of the theology of St. THOMAS, which they have translated into their native language [c].

Such, at least, is the notion of the learning of the modern Greeks, that is entertained by all the European Christians, as well Roman catholics as protestants, and it is built upon the clearest evidence and supported by testimonies of every kind. Many of the Greeks deny

[b] All the *Acts* and *Papers*, relating to this correspondence, were published in one volume at *Wittemberg*, in the year 1584, see CHRIST. MATTH. PFAFFII *Liber de Actis et scriptis publicis Ecclesiæ Wittembergicæ*, p. 50.—See also JO. ALB. FARRICII *Bibliob. Græcæ*, vol. x. p. 517 —EMMAN. A SCHELSTRATE, *Acta Ecclesiæ Orientalis contra Lutheri hæresin*, published at *Rome* in the year 1739.—LAMI *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. viii. p. 176.

[c] The translator has inserted the note [k] of the original into the following paragraph of the English text, which begins thus: *Such, at least,*
 &c,

with

with obstinacy this inglorious charge, and not only defend their countrymen against the imputation of such gross ignorance, but even go so far as to maintain that all the liberal arts and sciences are in as flourishing a state in modern *Greece*, as they were in any period of the history of that nation. Among the writers that exalt the learning of the modern Greeks in such an extraordinary manner, the first place is due to an eminent historian [d], who has taken much pains to demonstrate the error of those who are of a different opinion. For this purpose he has not only composed a list of the learned men that adorned that country in the last century, but also makes mention of an academy founded at *Constantinople* by a certain Greek, whose name was MANOLAX, in which all the branches of philosophy, as well as the liberal arts and sciences, are taught with the utmost success and applause, after the manner of the ancient sages of *Greece*. But all this, though matter of fact, does by no means amount to a satisfactory proof of the point in question. It only proves, what was never doubted by any thinking person, that the populous nation of the Greeks, in which there is such a considerable number of ancient, noble, and opulent families, is not entirely destitute of men of learning and genius. But it does not at all demonstrate, that this nation, considered in general, is at present enriched with science either sacred or profane, or makes any shining figure in the republic of letters. In a nation, which, generally speaking, is sunk in the most barbarous ignorance, some men of genius and learning may arise, and shine like meteors in a gloomy firmament. With respect to the academy founded at *Constantinople*, it may be observed, that a literary establishment, so necessary and yet so recent, confirms the judgment that has been almost universally formed concerning the erudition of the Greeks.

This ignorance, that reigns among the Greeks, has the most pernicious influence upon their morals. Licentiousness and impiety not only abound among the people, but also dishonour their leaders; and the calamities, that arise from this corruption of manners, are deplorably

[d] See DEM. CANTIMIER, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottomann*, tom. ii. p. 38.

C E N T. augmented by their endless contentions and divisions.
 XVI. Their religion is a motley collection of ceremonies, the
 SECT. III. greatest part of which are either ridiculously trifling, or
 PART I. shockingly absurd. Yet they are much more zealous in
 retaining and observing these senseless rites, than in
 maintaining the doctrine or obeying the precepts of the
 religion they profess. Their misery would be extreme,
 were it not for the support they derive from the Greeks,
 who perform the functions of physicians and interpreters
 at the emperor's court; and who, by their opulence and
 credit, frequently interpose to reconcile the differences
 or to ward off the dangers that so often portend the de-
 struction of their church.

The Greek
 church in-
 dependent
 on foreign
 jurisdiction.

IX. The *Russians*, *Georgians*, and *Mingrelians*, adopt
 the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church;
 though they are entirely free from the jurisdiction and
 authority of the patriarch of *Constantinople*. It is true,
 indeed, that this prelate had formerly enjoyed the pri-
 vilege of a spiritual supremacy over the *Russians*, to
 whom he sent a bishop whenever a vacancy happened.
 But, towards the conclusion of this century, this pri-
 vilege ceased by the following incident. JEREMIAH,
 patriarch of *Constantinople*, undertook a journey into
Moscow, to levy pecuniary succours, against his rival
 METROPHANES, and to drive him, by the force of money,
 from the patriarchal throne. On this occasion, the
 Moscovite monks, in compliance, no doubt, with the
 secret orders of the Grand Duke THEODORE, the son of
 JOHN BASILIDES, employed all the influence both of
 threatenings and supplications to engage JEREMIAH to
 place at the head of the Moscovite nation, an indepen-
 dent patriarch. The patriarch of *Constantinople*, unable
 to resist such powerful solicitations, was forced to yield,
 and accordingly, in a council assembled at *Moscow* in the
 year 1589, nominated and proclaimed JOB, archbishop
 of *Rostow*, the first patriarch of the Moscovites. This
 extraordinary step was, however, taken on condition
 that every new patriarch of the *Russians* should demand
 the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of *Constantinople*,
 and pay, at certain periods, fixed for that purpose, five
 hundred gold ducats. The transactions of this Moscovite
 council were afterwards ratified in one assembled by
 JEREMIAH

JEREMIAH at *Constantinople* in the year 1593, to which C E N T. XVI. ratification the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent [e]. But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of *Moscow* were still farther extended about the middle of the following age, when the four eastern patriarchs, under the pontificate of DIONYSIUS II, patriarch of *Constantinople*, exempted him, at the renewed solicitation of the Grand Duke of *Moscow*, from the double obligation of paying tribute, and of depending, for the confirmation of his election and installation, on a foreign jurisdiction [f].

X. The *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, or, as they were anciently called, the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, have declined so remarkably since the Mahometan dominion has been established in these countries, that they can scarcely be ranked in the number of Christians. Such, in a more especial manner, is the depraved state of the latter, who wander about in the woods and mountains, and lead a savage and undisciplined life; for among the *Georgians*, or *Iberians*, there are yet some remains of religion, morals, and humanity. These nations have a pontiff at their head, whom they call *The Catholic*; they have also their bishops and priests; but these spiritual rulers are a dishonour to Christianity, by their ignorance, avarice, and profligacy; they surpass almost the populace in the corruption of their manners, and, grossly ignorant themselves of the truths and principles of religion, they never entertain the least thought of instructing the people. If therefore it be affirmed, that the *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, at this day, are neither attached to the opinions of the *Monophysites*, nor to those of the *Nestorians*, but embrace the doctrine of the Greek church; this must be affirmed rather in consequence of probable conjecture, than of certain knowledge; since it is impossible almost to know, with any degree of precision, what are the sentiments of a people who seem to lie in the thickest darkness. Any remains of religion that are observable

The Georgians and Mingrelians.

[e] See ANTON. POSSEVINI *Moscovia*—MICH. LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1292.—See also a relation of this transaction, which is published in the *Catalogus Codic. MSS. Biblioth. Taurinens.* p. 433—469.

[f] LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 155.—NIC. BERGIUS, *De Ecclesia Moscovitica*, par. I. sect. I. c. xviii. p. 164.

among

C E N T.
XVI.
SECT. III.
PART I.

Of the east-
ern church-
es that se-
parate from
the commu-
nion of the
Greeks and
Latins,

among them, are entirely comprehended in certain sacred festivals and external ceremonies, of which the former are celebrated, and the latter are performed, without the least appearance of decency; so that the priests administer the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's supper with as little respect and devotion, as if they were partaking of an ordinary repast [g].

XI. The eastern Christians, who renounce the communion of the Greek church, and differ from it both in doctrine and worship, may be comprehended under two distinct classes. To the former belong the *Monophysites*, or *Jacobites*, so called from JACOB ALBARDAI [b], who declare it as their opinion, that in the Saviour of the world there is only *one nature*; while the latter comprehends the followers of NESTORIUS, frequently called *Chaldæans*, from the country where they principally reside, and who suppose that there are two distinct *persons* or *natures* in the Son of God. The *Monophysites* are subdivided into two sects or parties, the one African, the other Asiatic. At the head of the *Asiatics* is the patriarch of *Antioch*, who resides, for the most part, in the monastery of St. ANANIAS, which is situated near the city of

[g] CLEMENT. GALLANUS, *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenicæ cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 156.—CHARDIN, *Voyage en Perse*, &c. tom. i. p. 67. where the reader will find JOS. MAR. ZAMPI's *Relation de la Colchide et Mingrelie*.—LAMBERTI *Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie*, in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 160.—LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1333. 1339.—See also RICH. SIMON, *Histoire Critique des dogmes et ceremonies des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. v. & vi. p. 71. in which the learned author endeavours to remove at least a part of the reproach under which the *Georgians* and *Mingrelians* labour on account of their supposed ignorance and corruption. The *catholics* or *pontiffs* of *Georgia* and *Mingrelia* are, at this day, independent on any foreign jurisdiction; they are, however, obliged to pay a certain tribute to the patriarch of *Constantinople*.

[b] This JACOB ALBARDAI, or BARADÆUS as he is called by others, restored, in the sixth century, the sect of the *Monophysites*, which was almost expiring, to its former vigour, and modelled it anew; hence they were called *Jacobites*. This denomination is commonly used in an extensive sense, as comprehending all the *Monophysites*, excepting those of *Armenia*; it however more strictly and properly belongs only to those *Asiatic Monophysites*, of which JACOB ALBARDAI was the restorer and the chief. See SIMON, *Histoire de Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. ix. p. 113. a work, nevertheless, that often wants correction.

Merdin, and sometimes at *Merdin*, his episcopal seat, as also at *Amida*, *Aleppo*, and other Syrian cities [i]. The government of this prelate is too extensive, and the churches over which he presides too numerous, to admit of his performing, himself, all the duties of his high office; and therefore a part of the administration of the pontificate is given to a kind of colleague, who is called the *maphrian* or *primate* of the East, and whose doctrine and discipline are said to be adopted by the eastern churches beyond the *Tigris*. This primate used formerly to reside at *Tauris*, a city on the frontiers of *Armenia*; but his present habitation is the monastery of St. MATTHEW, which is in the neighbourhood of *Mousul*, a city of *Mesopotamia*. It is farther observable, that all the patriarchs of the *Jacobites* assume the denomination of IGNATIUS [k].

XII. The African *Monophysites* are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who generally resides at *Grand Cairo*, and they are subdivided into *Copts* and *Abyssinians*. The denomination of *Copts* comprehends all those Christians who dwell in *Egypt*, *Nubia*, and the countries adjacent, and whose condition is truly deplorable. Oppressed by the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Turks, they draw out their wretched days in misery and want, and are unable to support either their patriarch or their bishops. These are not, however, left entirely destitute; since they are, in a manner, maintained by the liberality of those *Copts*, who, on account of their capacity in household affairs, and their dexterity in the exercise of several manual arts, highly useful, though entirely unknown to the Turks, have gained admittance into the principal Mahometan families [l]. As to the *Abyssinians*, they surpass considerably the *Copts* both in

The Copts
and Abyssinians.

[i] ASSEMANNI *Dissert. de Monophys.* tom. ii.—*Biblioth. Orient. Clm. Vatican.* § viii.—FAUST. NAIRON, *Euophia fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum Monument.* par. I. p. 40.—LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christ.* tom. ii. p. 1343.

[k] ASSEMANNI *Dissertat. de Monophysitis*, § viii.

[l] RENAUDOT published at Paris in 4to, in the year 1713, a very learned work, relative to the History of the Eastern Patriarchs, under the title of *Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum*, &c. He also published the Office used in the ordination of the Jacobite Patriarch, with remarks, in the first volume of his *Liturgiæ Orient.* p. 467.—The internal state of the *Alexandrian* or *Coptic* church, both with respect to doctrine and worship, is

their

C E N T. their numbers, their power, and their opulence; nor will
 XVI. this appear surprising, when it is considered, that they
 SECT. III. live under the dominion of a Christian emperor; they,
 PART I. nevertheless, consider the Alexandrian pontiff as their
 spiritual parent and chief, and consequently, instead of
 chusing their own bishop, receive from that prelate a
primate, whom they call *abbuna*, and whom they ac-
 knowledge as their ghostly ruler [m].

The religi-
 ous doc-
 trines and
 rites of the
 Monophy-
 sites.

XIII. These Monophysites differ from other Christian societies, whether of the Greek or Latin communion, in several points both of doctrine and worship; though the principal reason of their separation lies in the opinion they entertain concerning the *nature* and *person* of JESUS CHRIST. Following the doctrine of DIOSCORUS, BARSUMA, XENAIAS, FULLO, and others, whom they consider as the heads or chief ornaments of their sect, they maintain that in CHRIST the *divine* and *human nature* were reduced into *one*, and consequently reject both the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon* and the famous letter of LEO the Great. That, however, they may not seem to have the least inclination towards the doctrine of EUTYCHES, which they profess to reject with the most ardent zeal, they propose their own system with the utmost caution and circumspection, and hold the following obscure principles: That the *two natures* are united in CHRIST without either *confusion* or *mixture*; so that though the nature of our Saviour be really *one*, yet it is at the same time *twofold* and *compound* [n]. By this

described by WANSLEE, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, que nous appellons celle de Jacobites Coptes*, published at Paris in 1667. Add to this another work of the same author, entitled, *Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte*, p. 293. in which there is a particular account of the *Coptic* monasteries and religious orders. See also *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. ii. p. 9.—MALLET, *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 64.

[m] JOB LUDOLF, *Comment. in Histor. Æthiop.* p. 451. 461. 466.—LOBO, *Voyage d'Abissinie*, tom. ii. p. 36.—*Nouveaux Memoires des Missions dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 277.—MICH. LEQUIEN, *Oriens Cbristian.* tom. ii. p. 641.

[n] ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.—See, in the same work, ABULPHARAGE's *Subtile Vindication of the Doctrine of his Sect*, vol. ii. p. 288. There is a complete and circumstantial account of the religion of the Abyssinians, in the *Theologia Æthiopica* of GREGORY the Abyssinian, published by

declaration it appears, that those learned men, who look upon the difference between the *Monophysites* and the Greek and Latin churches, rather as a dispute about words than things, are not so far mistaken as some have imagined [o]. Be that as it may, both the Asiatic and African *Monophysites* of the present times are, generally speaking, so deeply sunk in ignorance, that their attachment to the doctrine by which they are distinguished from other Christian societies, is rather founded on their own obstinacy and on the authority of their ancestors, than on any other circumstance; nor do they even pretend to appeal, in its behalf, to reason and argument [p].

XIV. The Armenians [q], though they agree with the other *Monophysites* in the main doctrine of that sect relating to the unity of the divine and human nature in

FABRICIUS, in his *Lux evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 716. where there is also a list of all the writers, who have given accounts of the Abyssinians.

[o] See LA CROZE, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23.—ASSEMANNI *loc. citat.* tom. ii. p. 291. 297.—RICH. SIMON, *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 119.—JO. JOACH. SCHRODERI *Thesaurus Linguae Armenicae*, p. 276. ¶ The truth of the matter is, that the terms used by the *Monophysites* are something more than equivocal; they are contradictory. It may also be farther observed, that those who pretend to hold a middle path between the doctrines of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, were greatly embarrassed, as it was almost impossible to oppose the one, without adopting, or at least appearing to adopt, the other.

[p] The liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published, with learned observations, by RENAUDOT, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgiae Orientales*.

[q] The first writer, who gave a circumstantial account of the religion and history of the Armenians, was CLEMENT GALANI, an Italian of the order of the *Theatins*, whose *Conciliatio Ecclesiae Armenicae cum Romana*, was published at Rome, in three volumes in folio, in the year 1650. The other authors, who have treated of this branch of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, ch. xxxviii. p. 640. to which must be added, LEQUIEN *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1362.—The *History of Christianity in Armenia*, which the learned LA CROZE has subjoined to his account of the progress of the Christian religion in *Abyssinia*, and which was published at the Hague in 1739, is by no means answerable to the importance and copiousness of the subject; which must be attributed to the age and infirmities of that author. For an account of the particular institutions and rites of the Armenians, see GEMELLI CARRERI *Voyage du tour du monde*, tom. ii. p. 146.

CHRIST,

CENT. CHRIST, differ from them, nevertheless, in many points of faith, discipline, and worship; and hence it comes to pass, that they hold no communion with that branch of the Monophysites, who are *Jacobites* in the more limited sense of that term. The Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs [r]. The chief of these, whose diocese comprehends the *Greater Armenia*, beholds forty-two archbishops subjected to his jurisdiction, and resides in a monastery at a place called *Echmiazin*. The revenues of this spiritual ruler are such as would enable him to live in the most splendid and magnificent manner [s]; but there is no mark of pomp or opulence in his external appearance, nor in his domestic œconomy. His table is frugal, his habit plain; nor is he distinguished from the monks, with whom he lives, by any other circumstance than his superior power and authority. He is, for the most part, elected to his patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at *Echmiazin*, and his election is confirmed by the solemn approbation of the Persian monarch. The second patriarch of the Armenians, who is called *The Catholic*, resides at *Cis*, a city of *Cilicia*, rules over the churches established in *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Syria*, and hath twelve archbishops under his jurisdiction. He also at present acknowledges his subordination to the patriarch of *Echmiazin*. The third and last in rank of the patriarchs abovementioned, who has no more than eight or nine bishops under his dominion, resides in the island of *Aghtamar*, which is in the midst of the Great Lake of *Varaspuracan*, and is looked upon by the other Armenians as the enemy of their church.

[r] Sir PAUL RICAUT mentions four; but his authority, were it more respectable than it really is, cannot be compared with that of the excellent sources from whence Dr. MOSHEIM draws his materials.

[s] R. SIMON has subjoined to his *Histoire de Chrétiens Orient.* p. 217. an account of all the Armenian churches, that are subject to the jurisdiction of this grand patriarch. But this account, though taken from USCANUS, an Armenian bishop, is nevertheless defective in many respects. For an account of the residence and manner of life of the patriarch of ECHMIAZIN, see PAUL LUCAS *Voyage au Levant*, tom. ii. p. 247. & GEMELLI CARRERI *Voyage du tour du monde*, tom. ii. p. 4—10.

Besides

Besides these prelates, who are patriarchs in the true sense of that term, the Armenians have other spiritual leaders, who are honoured with the title of Patriarchs; but this, indeed, is no more than an empty title, unattended with the authority and prerogatives of the patriarchal dignity. Thus the archbishop of the Armenians, who lives at *Constantinople*, and whose authority is respected by the churches established in those provinces that form the connection between *Europe* and *Asia*, enjoys the title of Patriarch. The same denomination is given to the Armenian bishop who resides at *Jerusalem*; and to the prelate of the same nation, who has his episcopal seat at *Caminet* in *Poland*, and governs the Armenian churches that are established in *Russia*, *Poland*, and the adjacent countries. These bishops assume the title of Patriarchs, on account of some peculiar privileges conferred on them by the Great Patriarch of *Echmiazin*. For by an authority derived from this supreme head of the Armenian church, they are allowed to consecrate bishops, and to make, every third year, and distribute among their congregations, the holy *chrism* or ointment, which, according to a constant custom among the eastern Christians, is the privilege of the patriarchs alone [t].

XV. The *Nestorians*, who are also known by the denomination of *Chaldeans*, have fixed their habitations chiefly in *Mesopotamia* and the adjacent countries. They have several doctrines, as well as some religious ceremonies and institutions, that are peculiar to themselves. But the main points, that distinguish them from all other Christian societies, are, their persuasion that *NESTORIUS* was unjustly condemned by the council of *Ephesus*, and their firm attachment to the doctrine of that prelate, who maintained that there were not only two *natures*, but also two distinct *persons* in the Son of God. In the earlier ages of the church, this error was looked upon as

The Nestorians, or Chaldeans,

[t] See the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 1—218. where there is an ample and circumstantial account both of the civil and religious state of the Armenians. This account has been highly applauded by M. DE LA CROZE, for the fidelity, accuracy, and industry, with which it is drawn up, and no man was more conversant in subjects of this nature than that learned author.—See LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 345.

C E N T. of the most momentous and pernicious kind ; but in our
 XVI. times it is esteemed of less consequence, by persons of the
 SECT. III. greatest weight and authority in theological matters, even
 PART I. among the Roman catholic doctors. They consider this
 whole controversy as a dispute about words, and the
 opinion of NESTORIUS, as a nominal, rather than a real,
 heresy ; that is, as an error arising rather from the words
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 It is true indeed, that the Chaldeans attribute to CHRIST
 two *natures*, and even two *persons* ; but they correct what
 may seem rash in this expression, by adding, that these
 natures and persons are so closely and intimately united,
 that they have only one *aspect*. Now the word *barsopa*,
 by which they express this aspect, is precisely of the same
 signification with the Greek word (*προσωπον*) which
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 they attached to the word *aspect* the same idea that we
 attach to the word *person*, and that they understood by
 the word *person*, precisely what we understand by the
 term *nature*. However that be, we must observe here, to
 the lasting honour of the Nestorians, that, of all the
 Christian societies established in the East, they have been
 the most careful and successful in avoiding a multitude
 of superstitious opinions and practices that have infected
 the Greek and Latin churches [*x*].

Their pa-
 triarchs.

XVI. In the earlier ages of Nestorianism the various
 branches of that numerous and powerful sect were under
 the spiritual jurisdiction of the same pontiff, or *catholic*,
 who resided, first at *Bagdat*, and afterwards at *Mousul*.
 But in this century the Nestorians were divided into two
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 already observed, two bishops at the same time, SIMEON

[*u*] It is in this manner that the sentiments of the Nestorians are explained in the inscriptions which adorn the tombs of their patriarchs in the city of *Mousul*.—See ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. II. p. 210. —R. SIMON, *Histoire de la Créance des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. vii. p. 94. —PETRUS STROZZA, *De dogmatibus Chaldeorum*, published in 8vo at Rome, in the year 1617.

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BARMANA

BARMAMA and JOHN SULAKA, otherwise named SIUD. C E N T. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.
The latter, to strengthen his interest, and to triumph over his competitor, went directly to *Rome*, and acknowledged the jurisdiction, that he might be supported by the credit of the Roman pontiff. In the year 1555, SIMEON DENHA, archbishop of *Gelu*, adopted the party of the fugitive patriarch, who had embraced the communion of the Latin church; and, being afterwards chosen patriarch himself, fixed his residence in the city of *Ormia*, in the mountainous parts of *Persia*, where his successors still continue, and are all distinguished by the name of SIMEON. So far down as the last century, these patriarchs persevered in their communion with the church of *Rome*, but seem at present to have withdrawn themselves from it [y]. The great Nestorian pontiffs, who form the opposite party, and look with an hostile eye on this little patriarch, have, since the year 1559, been distinguished by the general denomination of ELIAS, and reside constantly in the city of *Mousoul* [z]. Their spiritual dominion is very extensive, takes in a great part of *Asia*, and comprehends also within its circuit the Arabian Nestorians; as also the CHRISTIANS of *St. THOMAS*, who dwell along the coast of *Malabar* [a].

XVII. Beside the Christian societies now mentioned, who still retained some faint shadow at least of that system of religion delivered by CHRIST and his Apostles, there were other sects dispersed through a great part of *Asia*, whose principles and doctrines were highly pernicious. These sects derived their origin from the Ebionites, Valentinians, Manicheans, Basilidians, and other separatists, who, in the early ages of Christianity, excited schisms and factions in the church. Equally abhorred by Turks and Christians, and thus suffering oppression from all quarters, they declined from day to day,

[y] See JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 538. & tom. ii. p. 456.

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C E N T.
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P A R T I.

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PART I.

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and fell at length into such barbarous superstition and ignorance, as extinguished among them every spark of true religion. Thus were they reduced to the wretched and ignominious figure they at present make, having fallen from the privileges, and almost forfeited the very name, of Christians. The sect, who pass in the East under the denomination of *Sabians*, who call themselves *Mendai*, *Ijahi*, or the *disciples of JOHN*, and whom the Europeans entitle the *Christians of St. JOHN*, because they yet retain some knowledge of the gospel, is probably of Jewish origin, and seems to have been derived from the ancient *Hemerobaptists*, of whom the writers of ecclesiastical history make frequent mention [a]. This at least is certain, that that *JOHN*, whom they consider as the founder of their sect, bears no sort of similitude to *JOHN the Baptist*, but rather resembles the person of that name, whom the ancient writers represent as the chief of the Jewish *Hemerobaptists* [b]. These ambiguous Christians, whatever their origin be, dwell in *Persia* and *Arabia*, and principally at *Bassora*; and their religion consists in bodily washings, performed frequently and with great solemnity [c], and attended with certain ceremonies which the priests mingle with this superstitious service [d].

☞ [a] The sect of *Hemerobaptists* among the Jews were so called from their washing themselves every day, and their performing this custom with the greatest solemnity, as a religious rite necessary to salvation. The account of this sect given by *EPIPHANIUS* in the Introduction to his book of *Heretics*, has been treated as a fiction, in consequence of the suspicions of inaccuracy and want of veracity under which that author too justly labours. Nay, the existence of the *Hemerobaptists* has been denied, but without reason; since they are mentioned by *JUSTIN MARTYR*, *EUSEBIUS*, and many other ancient writers, every way worthy of credit. That the *Christians of St. JOHN* were descended from this sect, is rendered probable by many reasons, of which the principal and the most satisfactory may be seen in a very learned and ingenious work of *Dr. MOSHEIM*, entitled, *MOSHEIMI De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii*, p. 44.

☞ [b] See the preceding note.

☞ [c] The *Mendæans* at present perform these ablutions only once in a year. See *MOSHEIM, De Rebus Christian. ante Const. Mag. Comment.* p. 45.

[d] See the work of a learned Carmelite, named *IGNATIUS A JESU*, published at *Rome*, in 8vo. in the year 1652, under the following title: *Narratio originis rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Johannis: cui adjungitur*

XVIII.

XVIII. The *Jasidians*, or *Jezdæans*, of whose religion CENT.
and manners many reports of a very doubtful nature are XVI.
given by voyage writers, are an unsettled wandering tribe, SECT. III.
who frequent the *Gordian* mountains, and the deserts of PART I.
Curdistan, a province of *Persia*; the character of whose The Jasi-
inhabitants has something in it peculiarly fierce and in- dians, or
tractable. The *Jezdæans* are divided into *black* and *white* Jezdæans.
members. The former are the priests and rulers of the
sect, who go arrayed in fable garments; while the latter,
who compose the multitude, are cloathed in white.
Their system of religion is certainly very singular, and
is not hitherto sufficiently known; though it be evident-
ly composed of some Christian doctrines, and a motley
mixture of fictions drawn from a different source. They

discurfus, per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur xxxiv errores ejusdem nationis.—ENGELB. KAEMPFER *Amœnitates Exoticae*, Fascic. II. Relat. XI. p. 35.—SALE's *Preface to his English Translation of the Koran*, p. 15.—ASSEMANN *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. par. II. p. 609.—THEVENOT, *Voyages*, tom. iv. p. 584.—HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 725.—The very learned BAYER had composed an historical account of these *Mendæans*, which contained a variety of curious and interesting facts, and of which he designed that I should be the editor, but a sudden death prevented his executing his intention. He was of opinion (as appears from the *Tthesaurus Epistolicus Grozianus*, tom. i. p. 21.)—that these *Mendæans*, or *Disciples of St. John*, were a branch of the ancient Manicheans, which opinion LA CROZE himself seems to have adopted, as may be seen in the work now cited, tom. iii. p. 31. 52. But there is really nothing, either in the doctrines or manners of this sect, that resembles the opinions and practice of the Manicheans. Hence several learned men conjecture, that they derive their origin from the ancient idolators who worshipped a plurality of gods, and more especially from those who payed religious adoration to the stars of heaven, and who were called, by the Arabians, *Sabians* or *Sabeans* (*Sabini*). This opinion has been maintained with much erudition by the famous FOURMONT, in a *Dissertation* inserted in the eighteenth volume of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, p. 23. But it is absolutely groundless, and has not even a shadow of probability, if we except the name which the Mahometans usually give to this sect. The *Mendæans*, themselves, acknowledge that they are of Jewish origin, and that they were translated out of *Palestine* into the country they at present inhabit. They have sacred books of a very remote antiquity; among others, one which they attribute to ADAM, and another composed by JOHN, whom they revere as the founder of their sect. As these books have been some years ago added to the library of the king of France, it is to be hoped, that they may contribute to give us a more authentic account of this people than we have hitherto received.

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are distinguished from the other corrupt sects, that have dishonoured Christianity, by the peculiar impiety of their opinion concerning the evil genius. This malignant principle they call *Karubin* or *Cherubim*, i. e. one of the great ministers of the Supreme Being. And if they don't directly address religious worship to this evil minister, they treat him at least with the utmost respect, and not only abstain, themselves, from offering him any marks of hatred or contempt, but moreover will not suffer any contumelious treatment to be given him by others. Nay, they are said to carry this reverence and circumspection to such an excessive height, that no efforts of persecution, no torments, not even death itself, can engage them to conceive or express an abhorrence of this evil genius; and that they will make no scruple to put to death such persons, as express, in their presence, an aversion to him [e].

Duruzians,
or Durfians.

XIX. The *Duruzians*, or *Durfians*, a fierce and warlike people that inhabit the craggy rocks and inhospitable wilds of mount *Libanus*, give themselves out for descendants of the Franks, who, from the eleventh century,

[e] See HYDE, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum in Append.* p. 549.— OTTER, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 121. tom. ii. p. 249. In the last century, MICHAEL NAU, a learned Jesuit, undertook to instruct this profane sect, and to give them juster notions of religion (see D'ARVIEUX, *Memoires ou Voyages*, tom. vi. p. 362. 377.) and after him another Jesuit, whose name was MONIER, embarked in the same dangerous enterprize (see *Memoires des Missions des Jesuites*, tom. iii. p. 291.) but how they were received, and what success attended their ministry, is hitherto unknown. RHENFERDIUS, as appears from the letters of the learned GISEBERT CUPER, published by BAYER (see p. 30.) considered the *Jesdæans* as the descendants of the ancient *Setbians*. But this opinion is no less improbable than that which makes them a branch of the *Manichæans*; which is sufficiently refuted by their sentiments concerning the *Evil Genius*. BEAUSOBRE, in his *Histoire de Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 613. conjectures that the denomination of this sect is derived from the name of JESUS; but it seems rather to be borrowed from the word *Jazid*, or *Jezdan*, which, in the Persian language, signifies the *Good God*, and is opposed to *Abrimne*, or *Arimanius*, the *Evil Principle*, (see HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 484.—CHAREFEDDIN ALY, *Hist. de Timurbec*, tom. iii. p. 81.) so that the term *Jazidans* points out that sect as the worshippers of the good or true God. Notwithstanding the plausibility of this account of the matter, it is not impossible that the city *Jezd*, of which OTTER speaks in his *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 283, may have given rise to the title of *Jasidians*, or *Jezdæans*.

carried

carried on the Holy war with the Mahometans in *Palestine*; though this pretended origin is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. What the doctrine and discipline of this nation are at present, is extremely difficult to know, as they are at the greatest pains imaginable to conceal their religious sentiments and principles. We find, however, both in their opinions and practice, the plainest proofs of their acquaintance with Christianity. Several learned men have imagined, that both they and the *Curdi* of *Persia* had formerly embraced the sentiments of the Manicheans, and perhaps still persevere in their pernicious errors [f].

The *Chamsi*, or *Solares*, who reside in a certain district of *Mesopotamia*, are supposed, by curious inquirers into these matters, to be a branch of the *Samsæans* mentioned by EPIPHANIUS [g].

There are many other Semi-christian sects, of these kinds, in the east [h], whose principles, tenets, and institutions, are far from being unworthy of the curiosity of the learned. And those who would be at the pains to turn their researches this way, and more especially to have the religious books of these sects conveyed into *Europe*, would undoubtedly render eminent service to the cause of sacred literature, and obtain applause from all who have a taste for the study of Christian antiquities; for the accounts which have hitherto been given of these nations and sects are full of uncertainty and contradiction.

XX. The missionaries of *Rome* have never ceased to display in these parts of the world their dexterity in making profelytes, and accordingly have founded, though with great difficulty and expence, among the greatest part of the sects now mentioned, congregations that adopt the doctrine, and acknowledge the jurisdiction, of

Of the
Greeks who
embraced
the Roman
commu-
nion.

[f] See LUCAS, *Voyages en Grece et Asie Mineure*, tom. ii. p. 36.—HYDE, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 491. 554.—Sir PAUL RICAUT's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. i. p. 313.

[g] HYDE, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 555.

[h] See the work of the Jesuit DIUSSE, entitled, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tom. i. p. 63. This author tells us, that in the mountains, which separate *Persia* from *India*, there lives a sect of Christians, who imprint the sign of the cross on their bodies with a red-hot iron.

C E N T. the Roman pontiff. It is abundantly known, that,
 XVI. among the Greeks, who live under the empire of the
 SECT. III. Turk, and also among those, who are subject to the do-
 PART I. minion of the Venetians, the emperor of the Romans, and
 other Christian princes, there are several who have
 adopted the faith and discipline of the Latin church, and
 are governed by their own clergy and bishops, who receive
 their confirmation and authority from *Rome*. In this
 latter city there is a college, expressly founded with a view
 to multiply these apostatizing societies, and to increase
 and strengthen the credit and authority of the Roman
 pontiff among the Greeks. In these colleges a certain
 number of Grecian students, who have given early marks
 of genius and capacity, are instructed in the arts and
 sciences, and are more especially prepossessed with the
 deepest sentiments of veneration and zeal for the autho-
 rity of the pope. Such an institution, accompanied with
 the efforts and labours of the missionaries, could not fail,
 one would think, to gain an immense number of pro-
 felytes to *Rome*, considering the unhappy state of the
 Grecian churches. But the case is quite otherwise; for
 the most respectable writers, even of the Roman-catholic
 persuasion, acknowledge fairly, that the profelytes they
 have drawn from the Greek churches make a wretched
 and despicable figure, in point of number, opulence, and
 dignity, when compared with those, to whom the reli-
 gion, government, nay, the very name of *Rome*, are dis-
 gusting and odious. They observe farther, that the sin-
 cerity of a great part of these profelytes is of the Grecian
 stamp; so that, when a favourable occasion is offered
 them of renouncing, with advantage, their pretended
 conversion, they seldom fail, not only to return to the
 bosom of their own church, but even to recompence the
 good offices they received from the Romans with the most
 injurious treatment. The same writers mention another
 circumstance, much less surprizing, indeed, than those
 now mentioned, but much more dishonourable to the
 church of *Rome*; and that circumstance is, that even
 those of the Greek students who are educated at *Rome*
 with such care, as might naturally attach them to its
 religion and government, are, nevertheless, so disgusted
 and shocked at the corruptions of its church, clergy, and
 people,

people, that they forget, more notoriously than others, the obligations with which they have been loaded, and exert themselves with peculiar obstinacy and bitterness in opposing the credit and authority of the Latin church [i].

XXI. In their efforts to extend the papal empire over the Greek churches the designing pontiffs did not forget the church of *Russia*, the chief bulwark and ornament of the Grecian faith. On the contrary, frequent deliberations were held at *Rome*, about the proper methods of uniting, or rather subjecting, this church to the papal hierarchy. In this century JOHN BASILIDES, Grand Duke of the Russians, seemed to discover a propensity towards this union, by sending, in the year 1580, a solemn embassy to GREGORY XIII, to exhort that pontiff to resume the negociations relative to this important matter, that so they might be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion. Accordingly, the year following, ANTONY POSSEVIN, a learned and artful Jesuit, was charged with this commission by the Roman pontiff, and sent into *Muscovy* to bring it into execution. But this dexterous missionary, though he spared no pains to obtain the purposes of his ambitious court, found by experience that all his efforts were unequal to the task he had undertaken; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who arrived at *Rome* soon after, bring any thing to the ardent wishes of the pontiff, but empty promises, conceived in dubious and general terms, on which little dependance could be made [k]. And, indeed, the event abundantly shewed,

A junction
between the
Russian and
Roman
churches at-
tempted in
vain.

[i] See, among other authors who have treated this point of history, URB. CERRI, *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 82. in which, speaking of the Greeks, he expresses himself in the following manner: *Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des Catholiques lorsqu'ils ont appris nos sciences, et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos IMPERFECTIONS: i. e. in plain English, They (the Greeks) become the bitterest enemies of us Roman-catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have acquired the knowledge of our IMPERFECTIONS.* Other testimonies of a like nature shall be given hereafter.—MICH. LEQUIEN has given us an enumeration, although a defective one, of the Greek bishops that follow the Rites of the Roman church, in his *Oriens Christ.* tom. iii. p. 860.

[k] See the conferences between *Possevin* and the duke of *Moscovy*, together with the other writings of this Jesuit, relative to the negociation in

C E N T. that BASILIDES had no other view, in all these negotiations, than to flatter the pope, and obtain his assistance, in order to bring to an advantageous conclusion the unsuccessful war, which he had carried on against *Poland*.

XVI.
SECT. III.
PART I.

The ministry of POSSEVIN and his associates was, however, attended with more fruit among that part of the Russians who reside in the Polish dominions, many of whom embraced the doctrine and rites of the Roman church, in consequence of an association agreed on in the year 1596, in a meeting at *Bresky*, the capital of the Palatinate of *Cujavia*. Those that thus submitted to the communion of *Rome* were called the *United*, while the adverse party, who adhered to the doctrine and jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Constantinople*, were distinguished by the title of the *Non-united* [1]. It is likewise farther worthy of observation here, that there has been established at *Kiovia*, since the fourteenth century, a congregation of Russians, subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and ruled by its own *Metropolitans*, who are entirely distinct from the Russian bishops that reside in that city [m].

The votaries of *Rome* still less numerous among the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Armenians.

XII. The Roman missionaries made scarcely any spiritual conquests worthy of mention among either the Asiatic or African *Monophysites*. About the middle of the preceding century, a little, insignificant church, that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, was erected among the Nestorians, whose patriarchs, successively named JOSEPH [n], reside in the city of *Diarbek*. Some of the Armenian provinces embraced the doctrines and discipline of *Rome* so early as the fourteenth century, under the pontificate of JOHN XXII, who, in the year 1318, sent them a Dominican monk to govern their church, with the title and authority of an archbishop. The episcopal seat of this spiritual ruler was first fixed at

question, that are subjoined to his work, called *Moscovia*.—See also *La Vie du P. Possevin*, par JEAN DORIGNY, livr. v. p. 351.

[1] ADR. REGENVOLSCHII *Histor. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465.

[m] See MICH. LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1274. & tom. iii. p. 1126 — *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. *Februar.* p. 693.

[n] See ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. I. p. 615. — LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii, p. 1084.

Adorbigana,

Adorbighana, in the district of *Soldania* [o]; but was afterwards transferred to *Naxivan*, where it still remains in the hands of the Dominicans, who alone are admitted to that ghostly dignity [p]. The Armenian churches in *Poland*, who have embraced the faith of *Rome*, have also their bishop, who resides at *Lemberg* [q]. The Georgians and Mingrelians, who were visited by some monks of the Theatin and Capuchin orders, disgusted these missionaries by their ferocity and ignorance, remained inattentive to their counsels, and unmoved by their admonitions; so that their ministry and labours were scarcely attended with any visible fruit [r].

XXIII. The pompous accounts which the papal missionaries have given of the vast success of their labours among all these Grecian sects, are equally destitute of candour and truth. It is evident, from testimonies of the best and most respectable authority, that in some of these countries, they do nothing more than administer clandestine baptism to sick infants who are committed to their care, as they appear in the fictitious character of physicians [s]; and that, in other places, the whole success of their ministry is confined to the gathering together some wretched tribes of indigent converts, whose poverty is the only bond of their attachment to the church of *Rome*, and who, when the papal largesses are suspended or withdrawn, fall from their pretended allegiance to *Rome*, and return to the religion of their ancestors [t].

The labours of the Roman missionaries among all these sects produce little fruit.

[o] OROB. RAYNALD. *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1318. § iv.

[p] LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 1362 & 1403.—CLEMENS GALANUS, *Conciliatione Ecclesiæ Armenæ cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 527.

[q] *Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 54.

[r] URB. CERRI *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 162.

[s] URB. CERRI *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 164.—GABR. DE CHINON, *Relations nouvelles du Levant*, par. I. c. vi. p. 174. This Capuchin monk delivers his opinions on many subjects with frankness and candour.

[t] See CHARDIN's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 186. tom. ii. p. 53. 75. 206. 271. 349. and principally tom. iii. p. 433. of the last edition published in *Holland* in 4to; for in the former editions all the scandalous transactions of the Roman missionaries among the Armenians, Colchians, Iberians, and Persians, are entirely wanting.—See also CHINON, *Relations du Levant*, par. II. p. 308. which regards the Armenians; and MAILLET, *Description d'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 65. which is relative to the *Copts*.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I. It happens, also, from time to time, that a person of distinction among the Greeks or Orientals embraces the doctrine of the Latin church, and promises obedience to its pontiff, nay, carries matters so far as to repair to *Rome* to testify his respectful submission to the apostolic see. But in these obsequious steps the noble converts are almost always moved by avarice or ambition; and, accordingly, when the face of their affairs changes, when they have obtained their purposes, and have nothing more to expect, then they, generally speaking, either suddenly abandon the church of *Rome*, or express their attachment to it in such ambiguous terms, as are only calculated to deceive. Those who, like the Nestorian bishop of *Diarbek* [*u*], continue steadfast in the profession of the Roman faith, and even transmit it with an appearance of zeal, to their posterity, are excited to this perseverance by no other motive than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff.

On the other hand, the bishops of *Rome* are extremely attentive and assiduous in employing all the methods in their power to maintain and extend their dominion among the Christians of the East. For this purpose, they treat, with the greatest lenity and indulgence, the proselytes they have made in these parts of the world, that their yoke may not appear intolerable. Nay, they carry this indulgence so far, as to shew evidently, that they are actuated more by a love of power than by an attachment to their own doctrines and institutions. For they do not only allow the Greek and other eastern proselytes the liberty of retaining, in their public worship, the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors (though in direct opposition with the religious service of the church of *Rome*), and of living in a manner repugnant to the customs and practice of the Latin world; but, what is much more surprising, they suffer the peculiar doctrines, that distinguish the Greeks and Orientals from all other Christian societies, to remain in the public religious books of the proselytes already mentioned, and even to be reprinted at *Rome* in those that are sent abroad for their use [*w*]. The truth of the matter seems to be

[*u*] Otherwise named *Amida* and *Caramit*.

[*w*] ASSEMANNI complains in many passages of his *Biblioth. Orient. Vabriefly*

briefly this: That at *Rome*, a Greek, an Armenian, or a C E N T. Copt, is looked upon as an obedient child, and a worthy XVI. member of the church, if he acknowledges the supreme SECT. III. and unlimited power of the Roman pontiff over all the PART I. Christian world.

XXIV. The *Maronites*, who inhabit the mounts The Maro-
Libanus and *Antilibanus*, date their subjection to the nites, spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff from the time that the Latins carried their hostile arms into *Palestine*, with a view to make themselves masters of the Holy land [x]. This subjection however was agreed to, with

tican. that even the very books that were printed at *Rome* for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, were not corrected, nor purged from the errors peculiar to these sects; and he looks upon this negligence, as the reason of the defection of many Roman converts, and of their return to the bosom of the eastern and Greek churches, to which they originally belonged. —See, on the other hand, the *Lettres Choïsies du R. Simon*, tom. ii. lett. xxiii. p. 156. in which this author pretends to defend this conduct of the Romans, which some attribute to indolence and neglect, others to artifice and prudence.

[x] The *Maronite* doctors, and more especially those that reside at *Rome*, maintain, with the greatest efforts of zeal and argument, that the religion of *Rome* has always been preserved among them, in its purity, and exempt from any mixture of heresy or error. The proof of this assertion has been attempted, with great labour and industry, by FAUST. NAIRON, in his *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum*, published in 8vo at *Rome*, in the year 1679. It was from this treatise, and some other Maronite writers, that DE LA ROQUE drew the materials of his discourse concerning the origin of the Maronites, together with the abridgment of their history, which is inserted in the second volume of his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, p. 28, &c. But neither this hypothesis, nor the authorities by which it is supported, have any weight with the most learned men of the Roman church; who maintain, that the Maronites derived their origin from the *Monophysites*, and adhered to the doctrine of the *Monothelites**, until the twelfth century, when they embraced the communion of *Rome*. See R. SIMON, *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. xiii. p. 146. — EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Histor. Patriarch. Alexand.* in *Præfat.* iii. 2. in *Histor.* p. 49. The very learned ASSEMANNI, who was himself a Maronite, steers a middle way between these two opposite accounts, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496. while the matter in debate is left undecided by MICH. LEQUIEN, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1. where he gives an account of the Maronite church and its spiritual rulers. —For my own part, I am persuaded, that those who consider, that all the Maro-

* Those who maintained, that, notwithstanding the two natures in CHRIST, viz. the human and the divine, there was, nevertheless, but one will, which was the divine.

this

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this express condition, that neither the popes nor their emissaries should pretend to change or abolish any thing that related to the ancient rites, moral precepts, or religious opinions of this people. So that, in reality, there is nothing to be found among the Maronites that favours of popery, if we except their attachment to the Roman pontiff [y], who is obliged to pay very dear for their friendship. For, as the Maronites live in the utmost distress of poverty, under the tyrannical yoke of the Mahometans, the bishop of *Rome* is under a necessity of furnishing them with such subsidies as may appease the voracity of their oppressors, procure a subsistence for their bishop and clergy, provide all things that are requisite for the support of their churches and the uninterrupted exercise of public worship, and contribute in general to lessen their misery. Besides; the college, erected at

nites have not as yet embraced the faith, or acknowledged the jurisdiction of *Rome*, will be little disposed to receive with credulity the assertions of certain Maronite priests, who are, after the manner of the Syrians, much addicted to boasting and exaggeration. Certain it is, that there are Maronites in *Syria*, who still behold the church of *Rome* with the greatest aversion and abhorrence; nay, what is still more remarkable, great numbers of that nation residing in *Italy*, even under the eye of the pontiff, opposed his authority during the last century, and threw the court of *Rome* into great perplexity. One body of these non-conforming Maronites retired into the valleys of *Piedmont*, where they joined the *Waldenses*; another, above six hundred in number, with a bishop and several ecclesiastics at their head, fled into *Corfica*, and implored the protection of the republic of *Genoa* against the violence of the *Inquisitors*. See *URB. CERRI Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 121, 122.—Now may it not be asked here, What could have excited the Maronites in *Italy* to this public and vigorous opposition to the Roman pontiff, if it be true, that their opinions were in all respects conformable to the doctrines and decrees of the church of *Rome*? This opposition could not have been owing to any thing, but a difference in point of doctrine and belief; since the church of *Rome* allowed, and still allows, the Maronites, under its jurisdiction, to retain and perform the religious rites and institutions that have been handed down to them from their ancestors, and to follow the precepts and rules of life to which they have always been accustomed. Compare with the authors above-cited, *Tresaur. Epistol. Grozian.* tom. i. p. 11.

[y] The reader will do well to consult principally, on this subject, the observations subjoined by *RICH. SIMON*, to his French translation of the Italian Jesuit *DANDINI's Voyage to Mount Libanus*, published in 12mo at *Paris*, in 1685.—See also *EUSEB. RENAUDOT, Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 548.

Rome

Rome by GREGORY XIII, with a design to instruct the young men, frequently sent from *Syria*, in the various branches of useful science and sacred erudition, and to prepossess them with an early veneration and attachment for the Roman pontiff, is attended with a very considerable expence. The patriarch of the Maronites performs his spiritual functions at *Canobin*, a convent of the monks of St. ANTHONY, on mount *Libanus*, which is his constant residence. He claims the title of *Patriarch of Antioch*, and always assumes the name of PETER, as if he seemed desirous of being considered as the successor of that apostle [z].

[z] See PETITQUEUX, *Voyage à Canobin dans le Mont Liban*, in the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iv. p. 252. & tom. viii. p. 355.—LA ROQUE, *Voyage de Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 10.—LAUR. D'ARVIEUX, *Memoires, ou Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 418.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.